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ABSTRACT

This master's paper looks at the Pietist movement of German Lutheranism from 1650 to 1750 and its effect on German Universities, the Great Awakening in America, and the founding and early history of important American universities. Pietism was a religious movement that arose from the aftermath of the Thirty Years War in Europe and was particularly concerned with personal piety and general morality. This movement transformed religious life and thinking in Germany and the Low Countries, and the educational ideas of Pietist leaders such as Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke marked the beginnings of modern German education. The Pietist movement also influenced the American Colonial religious revival movement called the Great Awakening during the mid-1700's. The leaders of this movement, influenced by Pietist theological, missionary, and educational ideas, founded several important early colleges in the Colonies including Harvard College, Yale College, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Thus Pietist ideas on tolerance, academic liberty, personal piety, and the education of the clergy were developed and incorporated into the American higher education system. Their arguments and ideas are important in understanding current issues in American colleges and universities. (JB)

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THE INFLUENCE OF PIETISM ON AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

A Paper Completed for the
Master of Arts in Theological Studies

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ABSTRACT

The Pietist movement of German Lutheranism from 1650 to 1750 had a tremendous influence on religious leaders throughout the world. The Pietists transformed religious life and thinking in Germany and the Low Countries. The educational ideas of Pietist leaders such as Philip Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke marked the beginnings of modern German education. In addition, they changed the intellectual and personal character of the German universities.

The Pietist influence on the Great Awakening in America during the mid-1700's can be clearly shown. The leaders of this movement were profoundly influenced by the theological, missionary, and educational ideas of the German Pietists. Many of these leaders founded institutions of higher learning on the American continent. These institutions were inspired by the efforts of Pietist leaders in such German universities as the University of Halle. Pietist ideas on tolerance, academic liberty, personal piety, and the education of clergy were developed and incorporated into the American higher education system by the leaders of the Great Awakening. Their arguments and ideas are important in understanding current issues in American colleges and universities.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work is to show the paths of thought that stretch from the Pietist movement among the German Lutherans during the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century to the formative years of American higher education during the same period. Pietism is a complex movement within the history of Germany, Central Europe, and the regions surrounding the Baltic Sea.

Pietism began as a movement within Germany around the year 1666. It was a reaction against Protestant scholasticism and the horrible conditions in Germany during and after the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). As a movement it began to wane in 1750. There were several offshoots and revivals of Pietism.

This paper will concentrate on the main movement that was nurtured and supported by the Prussian state during the Pietist period. It is probably not possible to cover every aspect of the Pietist movement. Therefore, this work will center on the persons and ideas that come under the general title of Pietism that most influenced institutions of higher education on the American continent.

Many emigres from Central Europe and the Baltic regions brought their Pietistic ideas to the American Colonies. Some of America's proudest achievements in toleration, freedom, and religious devotion were heavily influenced by Pietism.

One of the most dynamic and influential institutions to develop during this pre-Revolutionary War period was the American college. The native American institutions of higher education symbolized a growing independence and were the crucibles of American political philosophy. These institutions were specifically created to develop future leaders in American society. Therefore, they reflected the ideals of their founders.

Pietism in Germany had a profound effect on teaching and learning in the German university. Pietism transferred to America and, manifested through the First Great Awakening, was influential in the development of the American college.

Although Pietism is influential it must be remembered that Pietism itself was part of a larger movement in Europe. Other movements that held many of the same views of Pietism were Jansenism, precisionism, puritanism, and a general revival of popular chiliastic spirituality.

This work will first explore the movement of Pietism and its historical setting and then the ideas that were influential for American higher education and the people that promoted them in Central Europe. Next the state of American higher education at the time will be explained. This will be followed by the people and works that transferred Pietistic ideas to America. Finally, the consequences of these ideas will be explored.

THE SETTING OF PIETISM

Piety and pietism are very well-worn terms. As long as there has been a Christian religion there has been a concern over personal piety. This concern can be seen in the various religious awakenings throughout the history of Christianity. Each age has had its reforms and revolts against the status quo. When great economic and political upheavals have occurred mystics and reformers have emerged to decry the evils of the age.

Reformers have many times tried to take Christianity back to the Golden Age of the Apostles. They have tried to recreate the true and pure Christian church. The movement called Pietism is an example of one such reform effort that echoes in the modern world. In order to understand Pietism and its beginning in Germany it is necessary to understand the state of the German society at the time of the movement.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Christianity experienced a revival of concern for personal piety and general morality that sprouted in several places across Europe.[1] This concern can be seen in the Pietism of Central Europe. It is also manifested in the Roman Catholic Jasenist movement and the Hasidist movement in Judaism that

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[1]Philip J. Spener, Pia Desideria, Theodore G. Tappert ed. and trans., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), 1. from the introduction by the translator.

also began during this time.[2] There were many factors that caused this new concern over piety. The greatest of these was the Thirty Years' War.

The Thirty Years' War extended from 1618 to 1648. It was fought primarily in Germany and the lands of Central Europe. At the time, Central Europe was a fragmented land of local principalities loosely held together under the rule of the Holy Roman Empire. These principalities were constantly fighting for power among one another even before the Reformation. After the Reformation they fought for territorial control and religious influence. In the early years of the sixteenth century a fragile truce had held sway over the Holy Roman Empire. This truce was established by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Augsburg agreement recognized the authority of the German princes to control the political and religious lives of the people within their own territories. The authority of the Imperial government was torn down and the Habsburgs, residing in Vienna, were emperors in name only.[3]

The Augsburg settlement established that the faith of the prince determined the religion of the subjects within the prince's domain. This compromise produced an uneasy

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[2] ibid.

[3] John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, John Buckler, A History of Western Society, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), 460.

balance between Lutherans and Catholics in the Empire. Any principality that converted upset that balance of power.

In the later half of the sixteenth century the Catholics grew restless because the Lutherans were converting many northern bishoprics. The Catholics were also converting Lutheran territories through the Jesuits. In addition, the rise of Calvinism during this period made the situation even more confused. There was no provision for a new kind of Protestantism within the agreement. The Calvinists ignored the agreement and converted several princes to their new faith.[4] Most of them were formerly Lutheran strongholds.[5] The German princes feared that the Peace of Augsburg would be totally undermined.

Each side began to pull ranks in order to defend their territories. The Protestant Union was formed in 1608 and the Catholic League was created the following year. Each alliance vowed that the other would not make any advances and the entire empire became armed for conflict.[6]

Ferdinand of Styria, a Catholic Habsburg, became the match that set off the war. In 1617, Ferdinand was elected as the king of Bohemia. This title gave him control over Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, and Bohemia. The kingdom was

[4] ibid.

[5] Calvinism had its major expansion within Switzerland and France. But, there were several German princes who saw the Calvinist theology and method of theocratic control as the model of the ideal state.

[6] ibid.

divided between Czechs and Germans. There were Lutherans, Calvinists, Catholics, and Hussite factions within Ferdinand's territory. The various nationalities and religions kept to themselves and enjoyed a certain amount of religious liberty.[7] Ferdinand, a devout Catholic, officially converted the whole kingdom to Catholicism and began closing down Protestant churches within his lands. The Protestant Estates of Bohemia protested and received support from the Protestant Union.

On May 23, 1618, Protestants threw two of Ferdinand's officials from a castle window in Prague. The officials fell seventy feet but survived. The Catholics claimed that the officials were caught by angels; the Protestants insisted that their fall was broken by a cart of horse dung. In either case the "defenestration of Prague" is the event that marks the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.[8]

The importance of the Thirty Years' War is in its character, motives, and destructive power. The motives and character of the war were religious in nature. Religion during this period was much more a source of power and control of the population than it is today. The Thirty Years' War was destructive to the general population of Central Europe. The destruction caused by the War put a

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[7] ibid., p. 467.

[8] ibid., pp. 467-468.

pall over religion and seeded distrust of the religious hierarchy.[9]

After thirty years of destruction without a clear cut victor, the war ended in 1648. Treaties signed at Münster and Ösnabruck became known as the Peace of Westphalia. Politically the Peace of Westphalia was significant. The treaties recognized the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The German princes were given even greater sovereignty and independence than they had enjoyed under the Augsburg agreements. Each prince could not only control his own territory but also declare war and conclude his own peace.

There were over three hundred principalities recognized in Germany. The imperial bureaucracy and court system was no longer in control and had no authority. What was left of the Holy Roman Empire after Augsburg was virtually destroyed. The only vestige of Empire was the designation of several imperial free cities. However, these cities were primarily under the authority of town councils and powerful burghers.[10]

The prestige of France was increased and the French king annexed the Alsace region. The King of France dictated events on the German frontier. The Peace of Westphalia allowed France to intervene in German affairs. Sweden

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[9] ibid., p. 470.

[10] ibid.

received cash restitution and jurisdiction over German territories all along the Baltic Sea.[11]

The treaties also circumscribed the power of the Papacy in German religious affairs. The Roman Catholic Church would never again regain the political power it once enjoyed. The Peace of Westphalia also stipulated that the Peace of Augsburg would stand permanently. The Augsburg agreement was modified to include Calvinism as a permissible form of religion.[12]

The war seemed to settle little. The north remained Protestant and the south remained Catholic.[13] In fact, the Thirty Years' War changed the history of Europe. Religion took on new forms and meanings because of the war. The economy of Europe was changed forever and the hope of a reunification of Christianity seemed to be destroyed.

GERMANY AFTER THE WAR

The Thirty Years' War was a disaster for the German people. Losses of population had been unheard of in any medieval war. However, nearly one-third of the urban population and two-fifths of the rural population of the German lands were destroyed.[14] Whole areas of Germany were depopulated. Some were killed by military action and many

[11] ibid.

[12] ibid.

[13] ibid.

[14] ibid.

were killed by diseases. Typhus, dysentery, bubonic plague, and syphilis were uncontrollable in some areas. Thousands of homeless refugees wandered the land in search of safety.[15]

Depopulation, loss of crops and grazing land, and loss of trade created a deep economic depression throughout Germany. An influx of silver from South America aggravated the economic difficulties as hundreds of merchants saw their trading value drop with the price of silver. Inflation throughout the German lands was higher than in any other region in Europe.[16]

There were some bright spots in Germany. The north did not suffer as much damage as the southern states. The trade routes shifted from the south in the Mediterranean basin to the east and north in the Atlantic. Many northern cities began to prosper and attracted refugees. The Ruhr valley became an important industrial and trading center.

The reconstruction of the German economy began in these areas and slowly the land began to produce again. The rural areas came under the domination of great landlords called Junkers. These nobles controlled life in rural Germany. They established police and civil powers and set up large estates near the growing urban centers.

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[15] ibid.

[16] ibid., p. 472.

The urban centers were developed around the courts and trading villages of the principalities. The guilds attempted to keep production down by controlling their membership. The princes "nationalized" the guilds in order to control the source of production.[17] Mass production was necessary in order to rebuild the military structure and the German princes had to develop a new source of labor.

This new source of labor came in the form of desperate refugees, orphans, and workhouse inmates.[18] Social classes became static and highly differentiated. The classes differed in clothing, manners, wealth, and attitude. This class structure was not new but it became particularly active within religious life.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE GERMAN STATES

Even more than before the war, it was essential to the rulers within the principalities to control the religious conduct of their people. Religion was recognized as a tool of statecraft. This was not a new phenomenon. What was new was the extent of the control that the princes had over the ecclesiastical officials within their territories.

The elevation of the prince was also not new to the period after the Thirty Years' War. In the sixteenth century the Lutheran reformers had already stated that the

[17]Gary R. Sattler, God's Glory, Neighbor's Good: A Brief Introduction to the Life and Writings of August Hermann Francke, (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1982), 6.

[18]ibid.

German princes were "the chief members of the church."[19] However, after the Thirty Years' War, religion became one of the chief tools of the Prince in controlling the population.

This did not necessarily mean that the prince and his court were faithful members of the church. Most of the nobility were members in name only. While the rulers held absolute power of ecclesiastical legislation and appointments, many were simply not interested in the spiritual life. Even the few princes who were sincere about their Christianity and had good intentions severely hampered the work of the church. Ministers of the church were de facto officials of the state charged with watching the faithful.

Class distinctions were prevalent throughout religious life. Nobility was highly honored. Also included in the upper class were the professionals, doctors, lawyers, and clergymen. What we would call today the middle class was not considered a separate class during this time. Merchants, tradesmen, and industrialists were looked upon as part of the common people and held no particular privileges except those they could buy. When the upper classes attended service they sat in reserved seats which were elevated and upholstered. The common folk sat on the hard benches in the nave below. Many of the upper class often

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[19]Spener, Pia Desideria, from the Introduction by the editor as quoted from Philip Melancthon, "Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope", 3.

held the most important ceremonies and rites in private. It was not uncommon to find private baptisms, weddings, funerals, and communions being conducted in an upperclass home.[20]

The confessional was still used throughout Protestant as well as Catholic lands. The confessional was an excellent tool to monitor the thoughts and actions of the populace. As a required part of religious life the citizen was told to tell all to the local minister. In this way the ministers became a form of secret police spying on the people and informing their superiors about anything that might be of interest to the state officials.[21]

The prince controlled the body of clergymen through a consistory, a standing commission composed of clergymen and lawyers appointed by the prince and responsible to him. The consistories eventually came under control of bureaucratic lawyers who saw the church as primarily a legal institution.[22] Under the consistories were the superintendents.[23] The superintendent controlled all the ministers within his specific district and enforced the actions of the consistory. In the imperial free cities the

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[20] ibid., 7-8.

[21] ibid., 4.

[22] ibid.

[23] The word superintendent is a Latin variant of the Greek word 'bishop'. The superintendents seem to have had the same kind of jurisdiction as the old system of bishops.

only real difference was that the town council appointed the consistory. No matter which system was used the congregations had no independence in their affairs.[24]

Much of the population did attend church. The Lord's Supper was considered an important connection between the people and God. Attendance was usually required by the local government, but many people still attended church services in order to gain favor with God as well as the authorities.[25] Church services became an expression of civic duty and were endured rather than experienced. However cynical or insincere there was a religious life among the people that could be awakened.

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[24] Spener, 4.

[25] ibid., 7-8.

THEOLOGY IN GERMANY AFTER THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Reformation is considered by many a revolt against scholastic theology and method. While this is true in many respects, it is not entirely correct. The Reformation was much more a political creature than a theological revolt. Although Martin Luther created a new type of theology and attempted to reform the church of many ideas that he considered incorrect, it is important to understand that the Lutheran Reformation did not produce many truly new ideas. The Reformation was especially conspicuous in its use of the old methods to prove its case.

Philip Melancthon (1497-15??) planted the seeds for a new type of Lutheran scholasticism. While there was still a feeling for a religion of the heart, theology in Germany was still conducted within the confines of the scholastic method. Luther was afraid to use the tools of philosophy, but Philip Melancthon was not.

In part this was precipitated by the universities. As will be seen later, the basic structure of the scholastic curriculum was still very much intact. The ideas in the Reformation on reform of the church did not have any influence on the method and the basic subjects taught within the universities of Europe. Melancthon was very much a creature of the medieval university. The influence of Melancthon's writings and systematic method insured that

Lutheran universities in Germany would teach Aristotle as the basis of correct theology for many decades.[26]

Many scholars refer to the immediate period which followed the Reformation as the period of Protestant orthodoxy.[27] Lutheran orthodoxy in Germany was a grand theological system. Every student who was taught by the theological faculties of Germany was expected to thoroughly learn the doctrines of Lutheran orthodoxy. Because Pietism grew out of Lutheran orthodoxy it is important to understand two of orthodoxy's most important characteristics.

Luther gave the principle of *sola scriptura*, but did not fully develop a concept of inspiration and origin. Therefore, it was important for later theologians to concentrate their effort in this direction.

The Holy Scriptures were considered inseparable from the direct Word of God. The idea that the clergy could pass on an oral apostolic tradition was totally rejected.[28] This idea developed into the doctrine of inspiration. All scripture is divinely inspired and scripture was the *norma fidei, judex controversiarum*, the settler of all disputes.

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[26]K. James Stein, Philip Jacob Spener: Pietist Patriarch, (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986), 20.

[27]Paul Tillich, A History of Christian Thought, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968), 276.

[28]Bengt Hagglund, History of Theology, Gene J. Lund trans., (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 306.

Knowledge of God was divided by orthodox Lutherans into natural and supernatural. Natural knowledge was either congenital, embedded in human consciousness, or acquired from inferences based on human observations. Supernatural knowledge of God came directly from the Scriptures and was preserved in the written word. Natural knowledge was considered totally insufficient for achieving salvation.[29]

The doctrine of scripture and the orthodox theory of knowledge was based on Aristotelian metaphysics. It was Aristotle's ideas on the distinction between matter and form that allowed orthodox theologians to say that the Word of God was the form and the written scripture was the matter. Aristotle's ideas of reason and knowledge were also used in the orthodox view of knowledge.

It is important to understand the relationship between reason and revelation in Lutheran orthodoxy. Luther seemed to frown on reason as a basis of theology. But, as the Reformation continued and developed, Luther backed the theologians in his movement (i.e. Melancthon) who used reason to defend the Reformation. In fact, at the Diet of Worms, Luther himself said that unless he were shown to be wrong by reason or the Holy Scriptures he would continue in his beliefs. Therefore, reason had always played a part in Lutheran theology. Reason became the most important part of the theology of Lutheran orthodoxy.

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[29] ibid., 309.

It was thought in the scholasticism of the Late Middle Ages that it was impossible to teach theology without philosophy. This opinion did not change during or after the Thirty Years' War. The philosophical categories were imperative when developing a complete theology. Orthodox theology still stressed a foundation of biblical revelation. Orthodox theologians believed that reason alone could not create belief. Even though the proof is correct the belief comes because of Revelation from God's Word. Tillich shows that orthodoxy had a substructure of reason and a superstructure of revelation.[30]

In addition to these two characteristics of Lutheran orthodoxy, there was also a place for personal piety. The personal piety of orthodoxy rested primarily within the *order salutis*, the order of salvation. The belief in correct doctrine led in natural progression to the *unio mystica*, the mystical union with God.[31] It was this *unio mystica* which was the basis for much devotional literature of the time, much of it based on late medieval mystics.[32]

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[30]Tillich, 278-279.

[31]ibid., 283.

[32]For a very good treatise on the connection between medieval mysticism and Lutheran orthodoxy and Pietism see Peter C. Erb's Pietists, Protestants and Mysticism: The Use of Late Medieval Spiritual Texts in the Work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714).

GERMANY AND THE UNIVERSITIES

Higher eduction, as a subject, grew out of the period of history when universities were first institutionalized. Universities began to form during the second half of the twelfth century. The university is fundamentally a medieval institution. The early history of the university is in many ways the history of medieval thought. Rashdall said that "the universities and the immediate products of their activity may be said to constitute the great achievement of the Middle Ages in the intellectual sphere."[33]

The term *universitas* began as the term *universitas facultatum*, meaning a school where all the faculties or branches of knowledge are represented. This term was used to represent the academic guilds of masters and students. Very few early universities actually contained all the faculties. The term was shortened to *universitas*.

These guilds were established in order to protect a growing industry. There were many wandering masters who would teach in the court or in the field for a price. These masters were usually credited as being taught by another famous master. The guild developed to protect these masters from unscrupulous purveyors of learning and thus save their reputations.[34]

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[33]Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, vol I. (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 3.

[34]ibid., 14.

Another term commonly used at the time was the *studium generale*. The *studium generale* was a place where students from all different parts would gather to be taught by a faculty of masters. The *studium generale* were at first a type of social club designed to support a student's needs for housing and board.[35]

In most cases these societies were formed to protect the student from the local town governments. Eventually these societies set down rules and standards for students and masters. They insured that the master would teach all he knew in a reasonable time and not take the student's money and leave.[36]

The *universitas* and the *studium generale* grew side by side and it was hard to find one without the other. By the fifteenth century the terms were interchangeable.[37] By the time the first institutions of Germany were being established, the term *universitas* or university was dominate.

Universities had various beginnings. Some Universities began as cathedral schools. Cathedral schools have existed since the beginning of the great period of cathedral building. The cathedrals were the seats of bishops and were centers of trade and commerce in medieval times. The

[35] ibid.

[36] Charles Homer Haskins, The Rise of the Universities, (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957), 9-11.

[37] Rashdall, 16-17.

priests at the cathedrals taught students who were recruited into the priesthood. Usually the instruction was confined to the basic Latin grammar and doctrinal studies.[38]

The cathedrals as centers of wealth attracted the wandering master. When such a master located in a particular place it was quickly known and students from all over Europe would sometimes come to the cathedral center to be taught by him. Paris started as a cathedral school, although in a metropolitan area, that gained a reputation for the teaching of theology.

Another way in which universities began was the medieval town. A rich, free city such as Bologna attracted many students and masters because of the availability of original texts and scholars from the East. The town welcomed these students as they brought wealth and prestige to the area.

The two universities that became prototypic were Paris and Bologna. Paris was known for its faculty of theology. Bologna was known for its faculty of law. There was also the university at Salerno that was known for medicine. Salerno, being a cosmopolitan center where Moslems, Jews, and Christians met to study, was not easily duplicated.[39] These were the first universities and Paris and Bologna were naturally emulated extensively. Eventually each of the

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[38] ibid., 43-44.

[39] ibid., 75-85.

earliest universities had faculties in all the areas of knowledge. But, the constitutions of the universities were formed along different lines and the emphasis of their curriculums also varied.

Bologna was the university of the student. The students of Bologna used their influence with the town council. Many of the students who came to Bologna were of the nobility, there to study the rediscovered Roman codices. These students carried financial and political clout that the students of Paris, for the most part, could not match. The student societies were divided along cultural lines into "nations". The nations of Bologna were divided between those of Italy and those beyond the Alps. The University of Bologna was the model for the universities of Spain, Italy, and southern France.[40]

Paris was the university of the master. The governance of Paris was based on the structure of the academic guild and the masters held the greatest power. The church looked to Paris to get its best theologians. Abelard is considered to be the intellectual progenitor of the University of Paris.[41] The school was controlled by the bishop of Paris and the masters were considered clerics. Some masters had political influence within the church hierarchy. Therefore,

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[40]Haskins, 12.

[41]Rashdall, 44.

the place of the student was secondary to that of the master.

Haskins describes the masters at Paris who divided into the four faculties which further divided into four nations. The four faculties were: arts, canon law (civil law was forbidden at Paris after 1219), medicine, and theology. The four nations were: the French, including the Latin peoples; the Normans; the Picard, including the Low Countries; and the English, comprising England, Germany, and the North and East of Europe.[42] These divisions were politically important within the university.

The University of Paris became the model for the universi ies of the northern lands including Germany.[43] In fact, Paris was so influential in theology that there was a saying during the Middle Ages that "The Italians have the Papacy, the Germans have the Empire, and the French have Learning."[44]

The universities eventually became formal institutions in medieval society. At Paris the university acquired written statutes around 1210. Also in 1210, Pope Innocent III granted Paris the right to sue and be sued or to appoint a *procurator as litem* to protect their interests. In 1215 a permanent Code of Statutes was imposed upon the university

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[42]Haskins, 16.

[43]ibid., 19.

[44]ibid.

of Paris by the Cardinal, Robert de Courcon. The right of the university to make its own statutes was also recognized.[45]

There were several attempts to crush the university of Paris. The university had become a political football in a game of power between the faculty, the Cardinal of Paris, and the Pope. In 1225, the Papal legate broke the seal of the university and a riot of masters and students ensued. The university had become institutionalized and control over it and what was taught to the students became of prime importance.[46]

The university movement did not catch hold in the German Empire until very late in the Middle Ages. German scholars had from the very beginning of the university movement made up a large part of the students attending the universities of Bologna and Paris. As was pointed out before, there were even German faculties as well as students. Rashdall explains that the culture and extreme feudalism of the German states prevented them from building the same kinds of educational institutions that had developed in France and Italy. Rashdall further points out that "the fact remains that for two centuries the university

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[45]Rashdall, 327-332.

[46]ibid., 317.

movement affected Germany mainly by drawing away students to foreign schools."[47]

The university with the largest and most influential German contingent was the University of Prague. The University of Prague was established by Charles IV, King of the Romans and King of Bohemia. Charles wished to strengthen his native Bohemian kingdom and capital at Prague. Charles was a scholar and lived in France for many years. He modeled his new university after the University of Paris. Charles forwarded a petition requesting a Papal Bull from Pope Clement VI. He then issued an imperial charter for the school on April 7, 1347. Germans from across the empire flocked to the new school.[48]

There were other centers of learning within the empire that began to be recognized. A number of universities were founded throughout the Empire in a relatively short time. At Vienna, a university was founded in 1384.[49] In Erfurt a *studium generale* specializing in the liberal arts was granted a Bull by Clement VII in 1379.[50] In 1385, a Papal Bull was issued by Urban VI for the University of Heidelberg.[51] In 1388, the municipality of Cologne

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[47]Rashdall, vol II., 213.

[48]ibid., 214-216.

[49]ibid., 236.

[50]ibid., 248.

[51]ibid., 251.

sponsored the founding of a university.[52] Bishop John of Egloffstein obtained a Bull for the founding of a university at Wurzburg in 1402.[53] Despite these new universities the University of Prague held great prestige among the Germans and still attracted the most interest. This continued until the great Prague Migration of 1409.

There was a great deal of tension between the nationalistic aims of the Bohemians and the Germans. The Bohemians took pride in their homeland and were upset by the majority presence of the Germans. Prague became the home of the German theologians. When nominalism[54] moved from Oxford to the German nations of Paris it eventually became the philosophy of choice among the Germans of Prague. This was enough incentive for the Bohemians to become radical realists.[55] The writings of John Wycliff on reform of the church became popular among the Bohemians in Prague around 1401. John Hus soon became the most prominent exponent of Wycliff in Prague. Hus combined the reform ideas of Wycliff

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[52]ibid., 255.

[53]ibid., 257.

[54]Nominalism is the scholastic philosophy that holds that there are no universals in reality. Universals are only names. Realism is the scholastic philosophy that all universals exist on an ideal plane. There are moderate and radical versions of both philosophies. Much of the medieval history of ideas revolves around these two positions.

[55]Rashdall, vol. II, 224.

and the realism of the Bohemians into a movement that carried a very nationalistic stamp.[56]

Hus was elected rector of the University of Prague in 1402. The university congregation[57], dominated by the German nation, voted to censor the works of Wycliff. Wycliff's writings continued to be read and were staunchly promoted by Hus. In 1408, another congregation upheld the original vote. But this time the Bohemian nation met to qualify the censor by adding the statement "in their false and heretical sense."[58] In the same year Wycliff's books were condemned by the Bohemian synod of the church. All masters and students were required to give up their copies of the Wycliff works. During this time the argument turned political.

In a step toward ending the Great Schism, King Wenceslas IV (1378-1419) declared his neutrality in the battle over the three rival popes. Hus and the Bohemian nation supported Wenceslas. The German nation led by the Archbishop Zbynek (1401-1411), the German clergy, and the German masters defended the papacy of Gregory XII. Wenceslas with the support of Hus as rector changed the

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[56] ibid., 225.

[57] The university congregation was called to vote on important matters within the university. The congregation vote was by nation. The German nation held two votes for every Bohemian vote.

[58] ibid., 225-226.

constitution of the University of Prague in order to allow the Bohemian nation to control the congregation.[59]

The German nation met and bound themselves together with a vow that they would leave the university if the new constitution was not withdrawn. On May 9, 1409, the masters of the university were summoned to hear the order that the rector of the German nation was to surrender his insignia of office to a Bohemian. The Germans left Prague en mass. Some went to the German universities of Heidelberg and Cologne. The largest contingent went to Leipzig and founded a new university.[60]

A group of over forty masters and 400 bachelors and students were invited by Frederick and William, Landgraves of Thuringia, to establish a University in Leipzig. A Bull was issued by Alexander V in September 9, 1409.[61] Leipzig would eventually become one of the most important centers for theology in Germany and one of the most influential in the development of Pietism.

THE CURRICULUM IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

The Reformation brought a change in content, but the basic structure was similar throughout all the established institutions of higher learning. The language of all learning in the middle ages was Latin. Latin was taught

[59] ibid., 227.

[60] ibid., 228.

[61] ibid., 259.

early to all students and was the language of communication throughout Europe. Latin was used in the writing of theological texts, biblical studies, diplomatic correspondence, and personal correspondence in every part of Christendom. The Latin Vulgate was used when referring to the Scriptures.

The basis for any complete education at the time was the liberal arts. The liberal arts were the background information for all literature and learned writings during the middle ages. The seven liberal arts were divided into two parts. The first group called the trivium were grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The second group called the quadrivium were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The trivium was the basic training in how to think, communicate, and argue a point. The quadrivium was important because each subject was important to professional training in government and commerce. Arithmetic was important in calculating inventories, prices, and exchange rates. Geometry was important in surveying, navigation, and architecture. Astronomy was important in navigation, agriculture, and military mechanics. Music was an important courtly and religious skill.

The Renaissance brought a new interest in the culture of ancient Greece and Rome. Greek became a popular language to study at this time. Other languages were also increasingly studied in the universities of the time. The new movement of Humanism showed the importance of eastern

languages. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Chaldean were considered important to understanding the Old Testament in its original form. The importance of Arabic in understanding the Arabic translations and in trade and diplomatic conversation was also considered.

The advanced subjects were taught by the masters of the various faculties in the university. The main reason for the existence of many of the early universities was to teach one particular subject for which the university was known. The German universities, coming at a later date, did not specialize as much as these earlier schools.

Each subject in the German university, whether it be theology, law, or medicine, was taught by a specific faculty which decided the examinations, type of teaching, and entrance requirement for their particular degrees. Of all the faculties in the German universities the most important were theology and law. Law was important to the court and the cities which sponsored the German universities. Theology was important because the power of the clergy within Germany was so much greater than in other areas of Christendom. It was not by accident that the Reformation found its first great start in the German lands and that German theologians were the most prominent of the movement. Germany was a proving ground for new theological ideas.

Haskins states that academic freedom depends on your idea of truth.[62] Truth in the Middle Ages was revealed and assumed to be obvious to all educated people. A proof was, from a modern perspective, worked backward from the fact.

This was especially true when it came to theological speculation. The theologian in the Middle Ages was not supposed to be clever about positing new ideas. The theologian defended the faith and "proved" the ideas of the fathers and scripture. Other disciplines enjoyed relatively more academic freedom as long as their teachings did not conflict with revelation.

Theology was the "Queen of the Sciences". It was the revealed truth of theology that dictated the activities of the scholar and no deviation was permitted. The Reformation was a turning point in what was to be considered revealed truth. The stage had been set for questioning the reasoning from revelation with the Renaissance and the beginnings of Humanism. Experimentation was being considered a valid starting point in discovering the nature of the world.

In Germany after the Thirty Years' War the spirit of experimentation was slow in taking hold. As discussed above a new Protestant Scholasticism dictated the direction of theology. The Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines along with the Scriptures were considered the sole measure of thought. Experimentation, physical or spiritual, was forbidden and

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[62]Haskins, 51.

the student was taught to "toe the party line". The Thirty Years' War did not solve disputes. If anything, the power of orthodoxy was more deeply embedded then ever. Any ideas about academic freedom would have to come from a new source.

A continuous battle raged between the different religions that divided Europe. The German theologians wrote polemic tracts against each other on a regular basis. Lutherans criticized the theology of Calvinist and Catholics. In some cases these debates became personal and ugly. There was also a wide-spread anti-Jewish feeling in the theological disputes. There was no room for religious toleration in the German universities.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PIETISM

Pietism did not develop in a vacuum. The ideas that it represented were not necessarily unique in history. The period immediately before the time of Pietism's greatest flowering provided many different ideas that would later be used by the Pietists. Two of the most important movements that produced these ideas were Puritanism in England and the French and German mystics of the period.

Chief among the German mystics known to the early Pietists was John Arndt(1555-1621). It was John Arndt's True Christianity that sparked interest among the greatest number of people in Europe. True Christianity was a staple for spiritual reformers for two hundred years.

Arndt took the first shots at Lutheran orthodoxy. He attacked the pure rationalism of the orthodox theologians. Arndt attempted to shift the emphasis from the head to the heart. He believed that it was the life of holiness that produced the wisdom to understand the Scriptures:

> The Christian life is rooted in love. True love loves God and neighbor and nothing else. He who does not have this love is a hypocrite and God's word is useless to him. Self-honor makes everything an abomination before God.[63]

These ideas on the supremacy of the Love of Christ are to be found in all Pietist writings. All of Arndt's works were studied and admired. His prayers were heartfelt and

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[63]John Arndt, True Christianity, Peter C. Erb, trans., (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 154.

sincere, unlike most of the prayers that were said by orthodox preachers. Arndt's sermons were almost as popular as True Christianity.

Some scholars have called John Arndt the "Father of German Pietism". He is undoubtedly an important part of the intellectual history of the movement. Arndt's ideas on a religion of the heart shaped the course of Pietism. However influential John Arndt was, the true progenitor of the Pietist movement was Philip Jacob Spener(1635-1705).

PHILIP JACOB SPENER

Philip Jacob Spener was born in the village of Rappoltsweiler in the upper Alsace region on January 13, 1635. Spener's father was an official in the court of the Duke of Rappoltstein. Spener's mother had a formative religious influence and was considered to be a gentle and religious woman. Spener spent much of his early life in the pursuit of education, no doubt directed by his father. Spener's father had a large collection of books. Biblical studies were also very important in his education:

> My dear parents had incorporated me through the bath of Holy baptism into the covenant of God. In my childhood they permitted nothing to be lacking regarding a pious upbringing. They had dedicated me in their hearts to the Lord's service before my birth and at the proper time let me know this.[64]

One of the greatest influences on Spener was his mentor Joachim Stoll (1615-1678). Stoll was the local pastor and

[64] K. James Stein, Philip Jacob Spener: Pietist Patriarch, (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986), 34.

was Spener's catechist and spiritual counselor. Stoll later married Spener's oldest sister and was a respected adviser. Stoll wrote the second appendix to Spener's Pia Desideria. It was Stoll who first recommended that Spener read the works of John Arndt.[65]

Another great influence that Spener received from his father's library were a number of books by Puritan authors. Puritan authors such as Emmanual Sonthomb and Louis Bayly wrote against orthodox Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. They also supported spiritual self-examination and a search for personal holiness.[66]

Spener at the age of sixteen entered the University of Strasbourg. He spent much of his time studying philosophy, history, and languages. Spener earned his Master of Arts degree in two years. He then went on to pursue a degree in theology.

During his theological studies Spener taught history at Strasbourg. The Lutheran orthodoxy at the University of Strasbourg was very influential on the impressionable young Spener.[67] The professor with the most influence upon Spener during his theological studies was John Conrad Dannhauer. Dannhauer introduced Spener to the works of Martin Luther and taught Spener to think of salvation as a present gift

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[65] ibid., 39.

[66] ibid.

[67] ibid., 49.

from God, not just future reward. Spener also learned the casuistical treatment of ethics. Although Dannhauer represented Protestant scholasticism, Spener turned to him when he needed support for his views on Sunday observance.[68]

Collegiate life at the universities in Europe at the time was very raucous and undisciplined. There were many incidents of drinking bouts, fencing matches, and dancing that Spener had been taught to disapprove. Following Puritan examples Spener kept to his room, skipped dinner one night a week, and on the advice of Joachim Stoll refrained from studying theology or any worldly pleasure on the Sabbath.[69]

Spener organized a biblical study group that met with him after church on Sundays and studied all kinds of devotional literature. These meetings were to provide a very important model for Spener's future plans for reform of the church.

Spener completed his theological studies in 1659 and spent the next two years in the traditional role of wandering scholar. During his travels Spener became familiar with a French Reformed preacher by the name of Jean de Labadie. Labadie was a mystical preacher who later became fanatical. Spener attended many of his lectures and sermons and six years later would publish a translation of

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[68] ibid., 51-52.

[69] ibid., 49.

one of his religious tracts. In addition to having contact with the influential preachers of the time, Spener also found acquaintances in high positions throughout Germany.[70]

Spener also had the hobby of heraldry which got him many important contacts among the upper class. Spener returned to Strassbourg and wrote his dissertation for the Doctor of Theology degree. He received the degree in 1664. Spener spent the next three years preparing for a life of teaching and preaching.[71]

Spener was ordained and assigned a post as assistant preacher. His habit of acquiring friends in high places paid off in 1666. In the spring of that year he was called to serve as the senior pastor in Frankfurt am Main.[72] Spener was uneasy about the appointment because he felt he was not yet ready for such an important post. However, he had a strong sense of duty and accepted the position. As senior minister he preached regularly, presided over the meeting of the twelve ministers under him, and administered the affairs of the Churches in his jurisdiction. Spener also had the responsibility of ordaining and placing new ministers, visiting each parish, and overseeing the keeping of parish records.

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[70] ibid., 60-61.

[71] ibid., 67.

[72] ibid., 73.

During his time as senior minister Spener began to develop his ideas about how to reform the church. Frankfurt am Main was typical of the towns after the Thirty Years' War. There was general economic chaos all around. The government had a stranglehold on religious life and the people were skeptical of any religious services. Religion was a mechanical process and this disturbed a man like Spener who spent much of his life studying devotional literature and the Scriptures.

Spener began to build upon his belief that religion is a personal matter that should be taken seriously. Spener strengthened the training of the young in Frankfurt. He attempted to revive the catechism and developed a program of study for children on Sunday afternoons. The teaching of children was very important to Spener. He felt that it was important to get the children to regular services and get them interested in religious devotions. Spener wanted all the children of Frankfurt to grow up the same way he did in Alsace.

Spener also developed other programs for encouraging laymen to be religiously devout. He organized meetings in private residences where people could discuss literature and the Scriptures. His aim was to cultivate personal piety among the lower classes. His program became known as the *collegia pietatis*.

In August of 1670, a group of devout men approached Spener with a request to form a study group. These men were

among the merchants and traders of the middle class. These people felt outcast from the upper classes and were resented by the lower class.[73] The *collegia pietatis* are an interesting component in Spener's plans of reform. They were not entirely unique at the time. Labadie conducted house meetings in France. The Puritans held private "prophesyings".

It seems obvious that there is a connection between the many experiences that Spener had across Europe and his Puritan influences to the *collegia pietatis*. However, the *collegia* had some very unique characteristics of their own. The *collegia pietatis* was as much an intellectual exercise as a spiritual meeting. Spener was of the belief that teaching was the primary purpose of these meetings.

In several sermons Spener made it clear that he saw the meetings as an edifying exercise where the more learned members would instruct the more ignorant. The *collegia pietatis* was much more a development from his days as a student in Strassbourg than a development of the mystical conventicles of the time.

Another important activity that Spener undertook during these years was correspondence. Spener, as was the custom of the time, wrote letters extensively. Spener came to correspond with John Dury who attempted to unite the Reformed and Lutheran churches. This spirit of toleration

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[73] ibid., 86-86.

later was manifested in Spener joining the attempt to unite the Protestant churches under the plan of George Calixtus. Calixtus recommended that the various churches be united by returning to the apostolic tradition of the first five centuries of Christianity.

Spener also became friends with philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who lived in Frankfurt for several years. Leibniz was also concerned with church unity and would later become important in the Pietist enterprise at Halle.

THE PIA DESIDERIA AND EDUCATION

The one work that is considered the greatest impetus to the Pietist movement and the work that garnered Spener the greatest attention was Pia Desideria or Pious Desires. A Frankfurt publisher planned to print a new edition of John Arndt's sermons on the appointed gospels of the church year. These sermons were first published in 1615 and had been widely popular ever since.[74] The publisher wanted to complete his edition in time for the spring book fair. He asked Spener to write a new preface for his edition. Spener took the opportunity to write about his ideas for a general reformation of the religious life of the Lutheran church. He sought and received approval from his fellow ministers in Frankfurt before he would allow the preface to be published.

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[74]Spener, 14-16.

The preface that Spener wrote soon became almost as popular as the Arndt sermons. Eventually the demand was so great that the preface was published as a separate volume. The first separate publication of the Pia Desideria came in the fall of 1675. In that publication was the original work and two appendices, not wholly uncritical, by sympathizers of Spener's views.[75]

One was John Henry Horb, the husband of one of Spener's younger sisters. The second was Joachim Stoll who was now Rappoltstein court chaplain. Stoll cautioned students to stay away from the medieval mystics because their visions of Christianity were dark. Stoll also did not agree with Spener's view that the Jews could be converted. Horb only disagreed with Spener on church discipline and his optimism on the possibility of church reform. Despite the fact that both appendices contained some criticism Spener allowed them to be printed as they were written. This is a sign of the tolerance and respect with which Spener held opposing opinions.

The Pia Desideria can be neatly divided into three parts. The first part describes the numerous problems that Spener saw in the church of his day. Spener decries the moral license that he believed existed in all classes of society. Sin is not earnestly avoided and the religious rites are done only mechanically.

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[75]ibid., 17.

The second part is an assertion that although the church is corrupted there is a possibility of reform. God has a plan for the church and hope for reformation can be found in the promises of the Bible. The early church is offered as an example of a better church to come. In the third part, Spener describes six ways in which the church can be reformed: 1) The extensive use of the Scriptures among all within the church;[76] 2) The establishment and maintenance of a priesthood that is spiritual;[77] 3) Practice of the Christian faith must be emphasized over knowledge;[78] 4) The ethical conduct of theologians in debate must be maintained;[79] 5) The men who are called to the ministry and converted in the faith must be trained in the schools and universities;[80] 6) Sermons must reflect Christian practice and be modeled after the work of John Ardnt.

The Pia Desideria carries the ideas that would shape the educational theory of Pietism. These educational ideas are first set out by Spener and later developed into a more complete system by his successors.

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[76] ibid., 87.

[77] ibid., 92.

[78] ibid., 95.

[79] ibid., 97.

[80] ibid., 103.

The most important of these ideas is the conversion of ministers who preach the Word of God. It was important for Spener that when the Scriptures were studied or spoken the minister or theologian was imbued with the Holy Spirit. Without the knowledge of the Holy Spirit the parishioner is easily lead astray:

> But greater scandal is caused when it is not recognized for what it is, when people (who according to the corruption of our nature always prefer to judge by examples rather than by precept) get the notion that what they see in their preachers must be real Christianity and that they ought not hold it against them. Most distressing of all, however, is the fact that the lives of many such preachers and the absence in them of the fruits of faith indicate that they are themselves wanting in faith. What they take to be faith and what is the ground of their teaching is by no means that true faith which is awakened through the Word of God, by the illumination, witness, and sealing of the Holy Spirit, but is a human fancy. To be sure, as others have acquired knowledge in their fields of study, so these preachers, with their own human efforts and without the working of the Holy Spirit, have learned something of the letter of the Scriptures, have comprehended and assented to true doctrine, and have even known how to preach it to others, but they are altogether unacquainted with the true, heavenly light and the life of faith.[81]

Spener believed that the minister carries the greatest burden in showing the way of true piety. Therefore, it was important for Spener to emphasize the correct training of the young ministers of the Lutheran church:

> Since ministers must bear the greatest burden in all these things which pertain to a reform of the church, and since their shortcomings do correspondingly great harm, it is of the utmost importance that the office of the ministry be

[81] ibid., 46.

> occupied by men who, above all, are themselves true Christians and , then, have the divine wisdom to guide others carefully on the way of the Lord.[82]

The daily life and piety of the student became important to the Pietist theories of education. Education is not just a class lecture or tutor in the subject. The education of the student also means the vigilant watch over that student's spiritual life:

> Then the schools would, as they ought, really be recognized from the outward life of the students to be nurseries of the church for all estates and as workshops of the Holy Spirit rather than as places of worldliness and indeed of the devil's ambition, tippling, carousing, and brawling.[83]

Spener goes on to explain that the professors must lead by example. The pious life of the professors could even be more instructive to the student than the lesson that is taught in the lecture. The students and professors would then seek the "Glory of God" rather than their own personal glory. Professors are to make sure that good conversation is carried on at the table and to pay attention to every student who is under their care:

> It would be especially helpful if the professors would pay attention to the life as well as the studies of the students entrusted to them and would from time to time speak to those who need to be spoken to. The professors should act in such a way toward those students who, although they distinguish themselves in studying, also distinguish themselves in riotous living, tippling, bragging, and boasting of academic and other pre-eminence (who, in short, demonstrate that they live according to the world and not

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[82] ibid., 103.

[83] ibid.

> according to Christ) that they must perceive that because of their behavior they are looked down upon by their teachers, that their splendid talents and good academic record do not help by themselves, and that they are regarded as persons who will do harm in proportion to the gifts they receive. On the other hand, the professors should openly and expressly show those who lead a godly life, even if they are behind the others in their studies, how dear they are to their teachers and how very much they are to be preferred to the others.[84]

Spener also believed that a student should be promoted based on grades and the life of piety. Graduates should not only carry a record of their academic achievements but they should also carry a testimony to their piety.

Spener had a strong sense of evangelism. He felt that polemics was an important part this endeavor. Spener believed that the best students should be taught polemics in order to preach to the world. In order to convince the non-Christian or unchurched, a student must understand argumentative technique in the vernacular. This led to the idea of the importance of teaching in the vernacular and translating the Scriptures and other devotional literature from the original Latin into the vernacular. This allows the largest number of people to read and understand the Scriptures and the evangelical message. This is especially important if the preacher must address his congregation on a topic of theological controversy:

> On the whole, however, it would be desirable (and several excellent theologians have often expressed this wish) that disputation be held in the schools in the German language so that students may learn

[84] ibid., 107-108.

> to use the terminology which is suited to this purpose, for it will be difficult for them in the ministry when they wish to mention something about a controversy from the pulpit and must speak to the congregation in German, although they have never had any practice in this.[85]

Although Spener was against the many diatribes and intense arguments between theologians he nevertheless saw the need to combat clearly wrong ideas and possible heresies. If the converted minister must argue to preserve the faith then it must be effective for the German listener:

> In any case great care should be exercised to keep controversy within bounds. Unnecessary argumentation should rather be reduced than extended, and the whole of theology ought to be brought back to apostolic simplicity.[86]

The teaching of theology, or any other subject, in the vernacular is a step forward in education of the majority. Latin was a great stumbling block to learning for many students who would otherwise be very competent.

One of the implications of Spener's ideas on dispute among Christians is the idea of toleration. Spener wanted to end the ugly arguments between theologians and between Christians and non-Christians. The truth must still be defended, but the conduct of the dispute must be regulated. Spener believed that a union among Christians would come about faster if argument was not the only means to achieve agreement:

> ...if there is any prospect of a union of most of the confessions among Christians, the primary way

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[85] ibid., 109.

[86] ibid., 110.

> of achieving it, and the one that God would bless most, would perhaps be this, that we do not stake everything on argumentation, for the present disposition of men's minds, which are filled by as much fleshly as spiritual zeal, makes disputation fruitless.[87]

This is far from the modern idea of academic freedom. However, it goes much further than majority opinion of the time. This spirit of toleration among Christians would reinforce the religious toleration bred in the Americas.

This spirit of toleration is also found in the basic idea that meaning is to be found through the power of the Holy Spirit. This Holy Spirit affects the individual and the individual's ideas. Spener believed that in class discussion all students must be allowed to speak from their individual experience. The student could be corrected, but the student did have a measure of academic freedom:

> This should be done in such a fashion that each student may be permitted to say what he thinks about each verse and how he finds that it applies to his own and to others' benefit. The professor, as the leader, should reinforce good observations. If he sees, however, that students are departing from the end in view, he should proceed in clear and friendly fashion to set them right on the basis of the text and show them what opportunity they have to put this or that rule of conduct into practice. Such confidence and friendship should be established among the students that they not only admonish one another to put what they have heard into practice but also inquire, each for himself, where they may have failed to observe the rules of conduct and try at once to put them into practice.[88]

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[87] ibid., 99.

[88] ibid., 113.

The key to the Pietist spirit of toleration is pious conduct in relationships between individuals. This is the basis for a code of conduct that develops into a sense of academic freedom. Each individual has something to contribute. The individual may be wrong and subject to correction, but that individual should never be degraded or humiliated over a difference of opinion.

Another important idea that came from the Pia Desideria was Spener's concern for the general social welfare of the community. This social concern combined with his evangelical fervor would develop into the Pietist views on the importance of missions and missionaries. The followers of Spener developed complex and extensive missionary organizations. The Pietist writings on missions would become an inspiration for evangelists around the world.

Spener's social concern was influenced by his belief in the coming millennium. Spener sought the coming of a new church on earth. He believed that it would soon be possible to reunite the Protestants and Catholics. Then the conversion of the Jews would make the church complete:

> If these two things happen, I do not see how anybody can doubt that the whole true church would be in a more glorious and blessed condition than it is now. In order for the Jews to be converted, the true church must be in a holier state than now if its Holy life is to be a means for that conversion, or at least the impediments to such conversion (which, as we have seen above, have

hitherto consisted of offenses) are to be removed.[89]

This chiliastic disposition would carry throughout the movement. Many times such a belief develops into a "hands-off" policy. Why should anything be correct? The millennium will come faster the worse conditions in society get. However, the Pietists took an opposite view. Spener saw an opportunity to make the new church happen and he wanted a movement of reform to complete the church.

This positive dimension to chiliasm gave a progressive outlook to the Pietist movement. This progressive attitude would open the way for many new ideas. Classical Pietists would fight the Enlightenment. Yet, in a very real sense, Pietism helped open the lands dominated by orthodoxy to the Enlightenment.

None of Spener's ideas were truly original. As will be shown later, there were already ideas on teaching in German and education of the masses. The importance of the Pia Desideria lies not in new ideas, but in a new unification of these disparate ideas and a strong popular argument for their implementation. Spener did not necessarily invent Pietism, he discovered a voice and mind for a movement that was already stirring in the land.

The fame of Spener and the reading of his writings spread throughout Germany and the Low Countries. Collegia began to be formed all over the country. Sometimes the

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[89] ibid., 77.

groups became divisive and tended to denounce the local ministers as "unconverted". This lead to a kind of Donatism which was combined with separatism. The *collegia pietatas*, in many cases, became *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*, little churches within the church. Spener tried to stop the spreading rumors and dissention by moving the meetings from the private homes to the churches.

He also wrote tracts telling the people how to behave in the collegia and expounding upon their nature. Spener accepted a call to Dresden in Saxony twenty years after coming to Frankfurt. Moving to Dresden allowed him to start over under more favorable circumstances. The local authorities in Frankfurt were mostly respectful but took a dim view of the controversy that Spener had begun. Spener and the ruler of Saxony Elector John George III did not get along well.

Spener found the Elector did not attend church and he heard Spener preach only a few times. The stay in Dresden was short but important. It was during this time that Spener wrote about the impediments to the correct study of theology. These writings and Spener himself would have a impact on a young instructor by the name of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). During his short stay in Dresden Spener came to know Francke, who would one day succeed him as the leading figure in the Pietist movement.

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE

In the Pia Desideria Spener identified the students at the universities as prime candidates for recruitment into the reform of the church. August Hermann Francke was just such a recruit. Francke was an earnest student who experienced a conversion within. This conversion set him apart and made him a strong leader for other students to follow. In his autobiography Francke describes himself as a "very bad and gross" Christian. He describes his intentions as gaining wealth and fame. In short, Francke saw himself as an evil and unfruitful tree.[90]

Francke was born in Lubeck on March 22, 1663. His father was a councillor at the court of Ernest the Pious, Duke of Gotha. The Duke's mother suggested in 1610 that Weimar should have compulsory education. Ernst was the first Duke to carry out the policy. The Duke also started instruction in German. Ernst also emphasized the teaching of Luther's Small Catechism.[91] Francke's childhood education had already pushed him toward the Pietist movement.

Francke's father also had a great influence upon him, even though he died when Francke was just seven years old. Under his direction Francke was introduced to Arndt's

[90]Peter C. Erb, edt., Pietists: Selected Writings, (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 99-100, (from Francke's Autobiography).

[91]Sattler, 21.

writings. August Francke's paternal grandmother was also a strong influence on his spiritual development. Her deathbed wish would guide Francke in his spiritual life:

> What would I like to have? I would like to have a blessed death and be with my Lord Christ and be in the presence of the whole Holy Trinity in their heavenly majesty and glory. Otherwise I want nothing more.[92]

It was this pious upbringing that caused a conflict as a student at the University of Erfurt where he enrolled at the age of sixteen. Francke later moved to Kiel where he lived with the church historian and practical theologian Christian Kortholt (1632-1694).[93]

Kortholt had a very pious attitude and introduced Francke to weekly group discussions. Some students at Kiel were concerned at the slow pace of their studies and asked the help of professors, including Korholt, to help them progress faster. Francke studied hard and learned Greek and Hebrew. He moved to Hamburg to study under the famous Hebrew teacher Ezra Edzardi.[94]

In 1684 Francke got an opportunity to tutor a student from Hamburg who was to enter the University of Leipzig. He was able to get room and board in the town and soon began to attend the university classes to further his education.[95]

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[92] ibid., 23.

[93] ibid., 25.

[94] ibid., 25-26.

[95] ibid., 26.

University life did not always agree with his pious training. He began to question his motives for seeking an education. The glory of knowing what others did not sometimes filled him with guilt. At the age of twenty-four in the year 1687 Francke's life began to change. He decided to "take up this serious question in myself, to acknowledge more deeply my wretched state and to look upon myself with greater earnestness, desiring that my soul might be freed from this state."[96]

Francke felt called to leave Leipzig and traveled to Luneburg in the fall of 1687. He hoped that this new task would give him the opportunity to become the Christian he wished to become. As soon as he arrived he was asked to give a sermon at the church of St. John's.

It is this sermon that leads Francke to question himself. He then has several confrontations with his disbelief. He meets with a friend and his superintendent, all the time keeping his inner turmoil to himself. Finally, after struggling with the question of faith for several days he reaches a new inner knowledge:

> On the following day I was able to tell my friend, to whom I had declared my wretched state on the evening before, about my redemption, but not without the tears, and he rejoiced with me. By the middle of the week I returned once again to the sermon I was to preach, with great joy of heart and out of true divine conviction concerning John 20:21, and I could say with truth the words of 2 Corinthians 4:13: "since we have the same

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[96]Erb, 100 (from Francke's Autobiography).

> spirit of faith; as it is written: I believe and therefor I speak, so we believe and so we speak."
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> And this is the period to which I can point as that of my true conversion. From this time on my Christianity had a place to stand and it was easier for me to deny the ungodly ways and the worldly lust and to live chastely, righteously, and godly in this world. From this time on I held continuously to God, and I cared nothing for promotion , honor, and visibility in the world, riches, good days, and exterior worldly pomp. Whereas earlier I had made an idol out of learning, I now saw that faith as a mustard seed counts for more than a hundred sacks full of learning and that all the knowledge learned at the feet of Gamaliel is to be considered dirt beside the superabundant knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. From then on I also knew for the first time properly what the world is and how it is distinguished from [the life of] the children of God. From then on the world began immediately to hate me and to build up enmity against me...Nevertheless, in this I must praise the great faithfulness and wisdom of God, who did not allow a weak child to be corrupted through strong food, or a pliant plant through an all too chilly wind, but he knew what and through this he tested and guided their faith. Thus, I was not lacking in testings but in them God at all times watched over my weakness, and first gave me only a little suffering but later a greater amount of suffering; according to the divine power which I received from him the last and greater sufferings were much easier to bear than the first and smaller ones.[97]

The story of his conversion is impressive for its heart-felt inspiration. He saw that his learning was not enough to convince his belief and his account has a definite anti-intellectual tone. But, Francke did not abandon learning. It is remarkable that this conversion did not turn him against learning altogether. Through his adoption of Pietism and his admiration of Spener he developed methods

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[97] ibid., 106-107.(from Francke's Autobiography).

that would allow him to use education as a means of promoting his beliefs.

After his conversion Francke encountered resistance to any of his suggestions of reform in the local parish. Despite opposition he began a *collegium philobiblicum* to teach the local laymen and get them to read the Scriptures. In 1688 he moved to Hamburg were he began to instruct the youth of that town. There were many orphans of the Thirty Years' War in the area and Francke took it on himself to teach these orphans and attempt to draw them to Christianity.[98]

Just before Christmas of 1688, Francke decided to return to Leipzig to continue his studies and to lecture. Before he returned he accepted an invitation given by Spener to visit with him in Dresden. It was during this two-month visit that a friendship grew up between the two men.[99]

Francke returned to the University of Leipzig and under the supervision of Spener, Francke delivered a series of lectures on New Testament exegesis in 1689. Francke also started a *collegium philobiblicum* along the same lines as the ones in Luneburg. Francke's emphasis on the application of the Scriptures to everyday spiritual concerns caused a great controversy among his fellow scholars.

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[98] Sattler, 34.

[99] ibid.

The theology students of Leipzig underwent a revival which drew the attention of the faculty. Some of the professors were angry with the students and with Francke who they saw as the instigator of the revival. The students began to ignore their regular classes to attend Francke's lectures. One professor reported the situation to the authorities in the capital of Dresden. The faculty of philosophy defended Francke and a full investigation was launched. Francke was accused of false doctrine. Francke become even more popular among the students and the authorities ordered a ban on all small group meetings.[100]

Francke later submitted an apology, but it was too late. The orthodox authorities continued their attacks. Before a final decision in the investigation was reached Francke accepted a call from Erfurt. He was supported by Joachim Justus Breithaupt, who at one time was the senior pastor of Erfurt and a Pietist. Breithaupt would later become the head of the University of Halle.[101]

By 1690 Pietism had became a popular movement among the populace in the German states. The movement was viewed as dangerous in many German lands and the authorities were quick to quell outbreaks of Pietism. The ecclesiastical authorities were worried that their parishioners would abandon the churches the same way the students abandoned

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[100] ibid., 35.

[101] ibid.

their lectures. Therefore, Francke's call to Erfurt was thoroughly analyzed and did not come without protest. This was so even though Erfurt was a largely Roman Catholic city.

Because Erfurt was largely Roman Catholic, the University of Erfurt had only two courses in Protestant theology. Breithaupt was in charge of these courses. He did not have time to teach at the University and give the basic catechetical instruction to the younger students. Breithaupt gave the catechism classes to Francke. Francke was soon inundated with new students wishing to learn from him. The orthodox pastors that gave private catechetical instruction suffered the same fate as the faculty of Leipzig. This led to new charges of heresy from the orthodox ministers.[102]

In addition to catechetical instruction, Francke opened up his home for religious discussions. Soon some of the townspeople started to request a transfer of membership from the Catholic church to the Lutheran church.[103] Francke became a problem to the Roman Catholic authorities of Erfurt. He was accused of starting a new sect and forced to leave Erfurt on September 27, 1691.

Spener's relationship with the Elector of Saxony had reached a breaking point in early part of 1691. Spener had impressed the authorities in Brandenburg-Prussia. The

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[102] ibid., 36.

[103] ibid., 37.

Prussians were looking for a solution to the many social problems that had kept them from becoming a significant power in the region. Spener soon received an offer to become the provost at Berlin's St. Nicholas church and a member of the Lutheran consistory of Brandenberg.

Brandenberg-Prussia was a growing power among the German states. Spener had become a popular preacher and theologian in Germany and the Elector Frederick welcomed the prestige and new ideas that Spener brought.

Universities were important for the prestige and renown of a state in the late seventeenth century. Elector Frederick had just authorized the new University of Halle. In his new position Spener was able to secure appointments of Pietists to the new university's faculty of theology.

Spener engineered an invitation for Breithaupt to the University of Halle.[104] Spener also invited August Hermann Francke. Francke would not come immediately, but chose to spend time with his family. He also was reluctant to go to a place where he was not called to minister. Soon this problem was solved when the pastorate of Glaucha, a suburb of Halle, became open. In December, 1691, Francke was called to be the professor of Greek and Oriental languages and the pastor of the St. George's church in Glaucha.[105]

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[104] ibid.

[105] ibid., 38.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

With the support of the Brandenburg-Prussian government and the help of Spener, the University of Halle became the first university to implement some of the ideas of Pietist education. Spener used his relationship with the Hohenzollern court to secure enough support to suppress orthodox opposition to his movement. Although Halle was under the jurisdiction of provincial government of Magdeburg in the Old Mark, the pressure of the Prussian court kept them at bay. This allowed Francke and his supporters in the faculty of theology at Halle to develop many new methods and put them into action.

In addition to his faculty position at Halle, Francke also had a position as a pastor to the local community. Halle in 1692 suffered from a prolonged economic depression. Ever since the Thirty Years' War the town had been in ruins. The town had been plundered and the main source of the local economy, the salt works, were permanently destroyed. In addition to the economic depression the area suffered a plague from 1681-1683. The plague cut Halle's population from thirteen thousand to less than six thousand. The municipal debt had reached 4.6 million Taler, an overwhelming sum at the time.

Civic morality was very low. The school system was practically nonexistent. There was no school for the poor. Since most of the young people in town were poor, most did not get an education. The young of Halle, many orphans,

roamed the streets. The poor, young and old, of Halle spent much of their time in the suburb of Glaucha which had become a kind of "red light" district. There were many taverns and brothels in Glaucha. Many children were corrupted and the people of Glaucha were mostly unchurched.[106]

Francke's predecessor had frequented the taverns and was eventually dismissed for committing adultery in the confessional of the church. Francke took upon himself to use the new Pietist methods to clean up Glaucha and restore a sense of religion and morality to its people. He had assumed a great risk. If he had failed, the Pietist movement might have been seriously undermined.

In order to accomplish this task Francke developed a system of classes and reforming groups supported by the students and faculty of the university. Francke concentrated on the education of his congregation. The University of Halle, its faculty and students, would become an integral part of this system. Francke would train the students of the university to be Pietistic preachers and educators and them send them out into the world. Francke gave a new sense of practical mission to the study of theology at the University of Halle.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE AND THE INSTITUTES

Francke was concerned about the lack of education given to the poor. He wrote that it was the custom to let

[106]ibid.

the poor gather every Thursday to receive any help from the overworked local poor houses. One Thursday he invited these poor to his house to find some way to assist them. After talking with them for some time he realized that one of the greatest problems they had was a lack of education in the Christian religion:

> Being thus engaged with the Poor, and by that means perceiving their Ignorance and want of Instruction to be so great, that I scarce knew where to begin the Cultivation of so barren a Soil, in order to plant therein a right apprehension of Christian Principles; I was then heartily concerned to contrive a Method for removing Obstructions, and making way for better Impressions on their ignorant Minds, being fully convinced that such defects in matters of Religion and of a religious Conduct, whereby so many People debase their nature even to Brutality, and abandon themselves to the government of Sensuality, must needs prove a visible Overthrow as well of Religion as of the Commonwealth. And I was made yet more sensible of this, by observing that so many Children, which by reason of their Parents poverty are never put to School, and so never get the least tincture of good Education, remain under the grossest Ignorance: Whereby Licentiousness and Irreligion get the ascendant over them: And so being fit for no honest Employment, they will not scruple in process of time to commit Theft, Robbery, and other such heinous Crimes, which they make the objects of their Study and Practice.[107]

Francke vowed to somehow set up a school where these children could learn free of charge. The opportunity came in 1695. Francke had set up an alms box in order to collect money for the new school. An anonymous benefactor placed a large sum of money in the box enabling Francke to fully support his endeavor:

[107]August Hermann Francke, Pietas Hallensis, (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1705), 10.

> About a quarter of a year after the Box was set up in my house, a certain person put into it at one time, to the value of Eighteen Shillings Sixpence. English. When I took this into my Hands, I said in full assurance of Faith: This is now a considerable Fund, worthy to be laid out in some important Undertaking, wherefore I'll even take this for the foundation of a Charity-School. I did not confer with Flesh and Blood about this affair, but went on with Resolution: And the very same day caused as many Books to be bought as cost eight Shillings, and then got a poor Student to teach the poor Children two hours in a day, promising him Twelve pence a week for his pains, in hopes the Lord would increase our small Stock; after about two Crowns thus should be spent in the space of eight weeks. The poor young Vagrants that we had, readily accepted of these new Books that were offered to them; but of Twenty seven Books that were distributed amongst them, four only came to our hands again, the rest being kept or sold by the Children, who went away with them and never came near us again.[108]

Despite this unpromising start Francke did not get discouraged. He quickly set up a system where the students would leave their books at the school and the organization began to flourish.

Francke employed the students from the university to teach at the new school. The poor school gained a good reputation. Soon the children of the middle and upper class were enrolling in Francke's school. By the next year there were three distinct schools under Francke's direction. Francke developed a large complex of what came to be known as the Institutes. In 1698 he outlined all the institutes that had been established over the last three years:

> 1. An institution for the education of the sons of lords, nobles, and other important people.

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[108] ibid., 14.

2. An institution for the education of the daughters of lords, nobles, and otherwise important people.

3. A special institution for Silesian children.

4. A Paedagogium or institution for the education of children who are supported and educated by foreigners and partly by their parents in distant places.

5. A special Paedagogium for those children who are to have only elementary instruction in writing, arithmetic, Latin, French, and economics, and are not to continue study, but are to serve important people, as scribes for merchants, trustees for possessions and useful arts. It is for the most part tied to the Paedagogium noted in 4 above but will be separated from it in the future.

6. A school mainly for indigenous Burgher's children who are to be educated. Not as expensive as the Paedagogium.

7. Another school for Burghers in which boys can be instructed in Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic, music, and manual skills.

8. A similar school in which Burgher daughters can be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, New Testament, and singing.

9. The orphanage concerning which with other similar institutions there is a printed description.

10. From the orphanage, the best and most intelligent Ingenue are chosen and are educated best according to their capacity for study or to other good arts.

11. Six chosen boys are carefully led through a special legatium to study.

12. The rest of the boys are educated in a manual trade and well instructed in Christianity.

13. The orphan girls are educated with special oversight and are instructed in Christianity and in all kinds of feminine work.

14. Six tables for poor students (70 in all) are free of cost.

15. One table of boys in the orphanage is supported at one-half cost and is maintained for study in the Paedagogium.

16. A hospital with a special legatium.

17. A poorhouse for certain old men and women with a special legatium.

18. An institute for Burghers who in their youth were not taught reading or catechism.

19. An institution for indigenous poor, who are educated for one hour a day and receive alms.

20. An institution for all arriving foreign beggars and Exulites who come together for an allotted two hours a day, receive good instruction in Christianity, and alms.

21. A school for poor boys.

22. A school for poor girls who can go to it free and return to their homes again after their education.

23. A special institution for children who are to attend the Lord's Supper. They are instructed for one hour each day. In all there are 500 children and 27 classes.[109]

There are several important aspects to the Halle institutes that have an effect upon higher education. One of these is the idea that a school could be started and run without a significant endowment. Francke raised the money as he needed it and depended upon free will offerings from the wealthy to help maintain those services that could not be paid for by any type of tuition income:

> In the mean time I found my self effectually Supported by his Hand who is the true Father of the Fatherless, and who is able to do exceeding Abundantly above all that we ask or think, and this even beyond the Expectation and Dictates of

[109]Erb, 163-164.

> my own foolish and scrupulous Reason. For he inclined the Heart of the same person of Quality, who had contributed in ready Money the above mentioned Five Hundred Crowns, to make a generous Addition to it, and to lay out the Sum of a Thousand Crowns more for the same use. In the midst of the Winter another Person of eminent Degree was moved to supply us with Three Hundred Crowns. Not to mention now other small Sums which fell in at several times.[110]

Fund raising of this kind was a radical idea for the time. Universities and other schools depended upon some kind of initial endowment in order to pay for services. Chairs were endowed by wealthy patrons and the wealthy parents of the upper class students helped to sustain them. Even the cathedral schools were usually funded through the endowments and tourist income of the Bishop or cathedral chapter.

Depending on annual giving was an important step. It allowed new schools to be formed that served particular missions without the political overtones of large endowments. The state did not envy the wealth of an institution that did not own large plots of land or did not have a large permanent endowment.

Another new development at Halle was the teaching of technical skills to the students. Francke realized that many of his students would not go on to the university. He also realized that one of the most useful things he could do to help these children was to introduce them to the burgeoning technology of the day. By giving middle and

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[110]Francke, 21.

lower class students an option to a university education he could instill the Pietistic values of a basic biblical training for all people with useful skills to enable them to be good citizens.

Education of women was an increasing trend in Europe during this time. Francke gave girls a different kind of education from the boys in his school. But, the important point is that girls were given the same kind of basic religious education as the boys.

Another important operation in Halle was the education of adults. The Burghers who did not have an opportunity to learn to read and write were taught to do so. This kind of adult education was not very common during this time and shows the intense interest in the idea of an educated lay population and its important to the church and society.

Francke was also convinced that in order to change the lives of his students he must isolate them from their former environment. The goal of instilling new moral values on a student included the "breaking of the will". Strict supervision was given to the students and all activity that was not directed toward work or study was thoroughly discouraged. This was not done without compassion, especially among the younger students. Perhaps the most important idea for the future of higher education at Halle was the idea of the education as a ministry. The institutes at Hall became centers for the training of teachers and

practical theologians as well as a ministry for the poor and under-educated.

The students that were trained at Halle were foremost practical theologians dedicated to the idea of personal piety and the importance of education. The students at Halle were trained as professional teachers and missionaries.

Halle was the perfect opportunity for Francke to develop his ideas. In German schools of the time, the teacher was primarily the local pastor. The Institutes required a large number of teachers with a broad range of knowledge and skills. In addition to the extensive curriculum in the liberal arts, most of the emerging sciences, a rigorous religious curriculum, and a wide range of technical skills were taught.

Also needed was a new generation of preachers to reform the local congregations. Theology students became the teachers, missionaries, and preachers throughout German society. There was no better place to begin the reshaping of society.

In order to produce these new ministers and teachers the University of Halle used the same techniques in the University and the schools. Francke saw the Institutes as a great benefit to the German schools:

> A great many Students, partly by being kept under a strict Discipline themselves, partly by being every Day employed in teaching the Children, are prepared for a skilful Management of Schools up and down in the Country: And having been used to a

> good and exact Method, they may prove instrumental to effect in some measure the Reformation of Schools, which is so necessary at this time; especially if they should happen to get into Parsonages, or Parochial Cures, and so come to be intrusted with the particular Inspection of Schools.[111]

In addition Francke believed that the University benefited greatly from the new emphasis on education of the poor:

> As the whole University here, has been set up for the real good of our Church and State, so this general good is so far advanced by means of this Undertaking as the number of Students in the University has been not a little augmented thereby. Now the number of Students freely maintained in the Hospital amounts to Fifty, Sixty, Seventy, nay, sometimes Eighty altogether at one time; not to mention those who in expectation of such a benefit come hither, which must needs make a considerable addition to the number of the Students in Divinity.[112]

The theology faculty at the University eventually contained only Pietist theologians. Among them were Breithaupt, Paul Anthony Joachim, and Francke:

> These three Men, as they make their Business to promote Religion and Learning in the station assigned to them; so there is one thing which hitherto hath been very helpful in forwarding their design. And this is their hearty Fraternal Love, and harmonious Concurrence in the Work they are engaged in.[113]

A student's first task was the conversion of his soul. Francke considered conversion as the "foundation of study". Any student that did not show that he had made a

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[111] ibid., 102.

[112] ibid., 102-103.

[113] ibid., 214.

"breakthrough" in his relationship with God was expected to have a repentant attitude and demonstrate that he was working toward the goal of being "born again". Once this was accomplished the student was ready for "constant growth in study":

> ...that there is an Order settled by the Academical Statutes, by virtue whereof the Professors of Divinity are obliged to keep two or three Sessions a Week, wherein laying aside all other things, they expressly enquire into the State of every Young Scholar in particular, and supply him afterwards with Directions suitable to the circumstances they find him in. Three days in a Week are appointed for these Sessions, which last from Two till Four in the Afternoon.[114]

Francke spent a tremendous amount of energy in running the Institutes and contributing to the students of the University. He set up many ways in which a poor student could get financial aid in his studies:

> Such Students as have their constant Diet in the Hospital, are obliged to spend two hours every day in the service thereof, which generally consists in Catechizing the Poor and the Like Exercises. Which useful Practices as they are much decayed in the Church, so we have reason to hope that in tract of time, this may prove a means of reviving it, at least to some degree; these Students being inured to a good practical Method, and a plain familiar way of discoursing People, even of the meanest capacity.[115]

Theology at Halle was to be an "experientially verified exposition of all lucid passages of the holy scripture". Francke considered the teaching enterprise as a method to reshape Christian society. Society would be reborn through

[114] ibid., 215.

[115] ibid., 219.

God's Providence by way of the transformation of the students attending the University and the Institutes.

The curriculum of the divinity students was carefully laid out at the University of Halle. Each professor spoke in a series of lectures according to their particular strengths. Breithaupt taught the basics of theology and religion. Joachim taught apologetics and the history of doctrine. Francke taught practical theology and languages, He also gave weekly lectures called *Collegium Pareneticum* or Monitory Lectures. These lectures exhorted the students to live a pious life and attempted to rectify any "popular mistakes" that were apt to occur in young students.[116]

Francke rejected any kind of predestination and believed that a general call to conversion was available to all people. This allowed for the idea of toleration and academic freedom that characterized the institutes. This academic freedom was not without limits, and toleration was also limited. But it was an attitude that was without parallel in the educational philosophy and theology of the day, however limited.

The faculty was not above allowing foreign professors to teach skills which the regular faculty did not possess:

> But. I must here also mention by the way, the Advantage our University at present has above any in our Country, viz. the Visits from Foreigners, whereof I will mention only at present an Arabian, who has resided here three quarters of a Year, having a Room assigned to him in the Hospital.

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[116] ibid., 222-225.

> His Name was Samuel Negri Born at Damascus, a Man of quick parts and good understanding, and no stranger to the Polite Learning now in vogue, who being Master not only of the French, but also of the Latin Language, proved exceeding serviceable for our design, which was to have some Young Scholars taught a competent measure of the Arabic Language, which he has performed with good success, there being not only some Students but also some Boys of the Hospital, who are advanced to a considerable degree of knowledge in that Language, and fit to Teach others again. In order whereto, he has gone through a course of Reading the Alcoran, and has translated it into Latin for the use of his Auditors. After this he went to Venice with a design (as I think) of returning to his Native Country.[117]

Francke and his Institutes at Halle became a sensational story among Pietist sympathizes, English Puritans, and Reformed humanists in the Netherlands. Francke wrote about his institutes in the Pietatas Hallentis. This small book was of great interest throughout Europe. It was translated in London by the primarily Puritan Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.). The S.P.C.K. printed many copies and Francke's work was read throughout the British Empire, including the American Colonies.

COUNT ZINZENDORF AND RADICAL PIETISM

One man who was deeply influenced by both Spener and Francke was Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Zinzendorf's father died when he was just six weeks old. His mother married a Prussian marshal when he was four years old and his family moved to Berlin. Zinzendorf was

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[117] ibid., 228.

left in the care of his grandmother, a devout pietist, at Gross-Hennersdorf in Upper Lusatia. Zinzendorf was considered a highly intelligent child and soon entered into the schools at Halle. At sixteen he was sent to Wittenberg and encouraged to study law by a relative who did not approve of his pietist learning. He completed his education in Holland, Germany, and France and was groomed for public life. Even though he was separated from Halle he did not lose his pietist leanings. Unable to enter the ministry at the insistence of his family he vowed to use his public position to promote his beliefs in any way he could.[118]

The spiritual descendents of the Hussite movement were the Bohemian Brethren also called the Moravians. The Moravians had survived despite nearly two centuries of persecution. The few Moravians that remained were rallied by a former Catholic named Christian David (1691-1751). In 1722 David came out of Bohemia and became a missionary for the Moravian cause, attempting to find a way to release his adopted brethren from their problems. Zinzendorf was impressed and invited the Moravians to asylum on his estate at Berthelsdorf. The Moravians began to build a village they called Herrnhut.

The leaders of the Moravians were deeply connected to Pietism. David himself was converted in Gorlitz in 1717. The Moravians divided into small groups of people of the

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[118] ibid., 20.

same social position. These small groups consisted of bachelors, young girls, widows, etc. On August 13, 1727, the whole community experienced a deep spiritual awakening. From then on the movement grew and sent missionaries and evangelists from Herrnhut throughout the world. Large communities moved to the colonies of Georgia and Pennsylvania.

The theology of these Moravian missionaries was shaped in large part by Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf emphasized the feelings of the heart and experience in faith above all the other Pietist ideas. For Zinzendorf Christ's crucifixion as a redemptive act was primary. The Moravians became known for their deep religious images, especially the descriptions of the suffering and wounds of Christ on the Cross. Zinzendorf himself wrote many of these descriptive accounts.

Zinzendorf also had a strong view of marriage and sexuality. Marriage was analogous between the relationship of Christ and the believer. He used the image of the bridegroom and the images from the Song of Songs extensively. The Moravians began to use a familial model of the Trinity. The Trinity was seen as Father, Mother, and Son. The institution of marriage was very respected and the love between man and woman should be as open as the love of the Father, Mother, and Son in the heart of the believer.[119]

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[119] ibid., 22.

Zinzendorf's ecumenism was the widest of all the Pietists. He believed the various denominations were schools divinely instituted to direct believers in faith. No denomination was the final expression of the "true church". Zinzendorf thought that the "true church" was coming into being and eventually there would be one church again. By the 1740's Zinzendorf began to believe that the "true church" would come into being in the wilderness of America.[120]

Zinzendorf and the Moravians did not have any new ideas that would have a direct influence on higher education. However, Zinzendorf's dream of a "true church" taking form in America, combined with the missionary activity of the Moravians themselves, would advance the connections between Pietism and American higher eduction.

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[120] ibid.

EARLY COLONIAL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The colony in which the beginnings of American higher education can be found is Massachusetts Bay. Massachusetts Bay was founded by Puritans of deep religious feeling and personal piety. Most of the colonists were there to achieve religious freedom and to promote the founding of new societies based on their own deeply held beliefs. This can be seen in the Massachusetts Bay Compact.

The anonymous author of *New England's First Fruits* wrote in 1643 that, after erecting homes, building a church, and forming a new government, "One of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity...".[121] In 1633, the "Apostle" John Eliot (1604-1690), a missionary to the Indians, wrote a proposal for a college at the Massachusetts Bay colony.[122] Apostle Eliot believed that a college that taught "not only in divinity: but other arts and sciences, and in law also: for that would be very material for the welfare of our common wealth..."[123]

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[121] Richard Hofstadter, Wilson Smith, edts., American Higher Education: A Documentary History, vol. 1, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 6.

[122] ibid., 5.

[123] ibid., 6.

THE FOUNDING OF HARVARD COLLEGE

New England's First Fruits was a promotional tract written in 1643 and was intended to help raise funds for the new college. It is told in this work that a Mr. Harvard, a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning, gave the new college one half of his estate in Cambridge and his personal library. In 1639 Harvard College was begun and soon, in August of 1640, the first president Henry Dunster (1609-1658/59?) was appointed. In addition to the college a grammar school for those not ready for college was founded and a Master Corlet was asked to be head master.[124]

A college was important to the colonists for several reasons. The first was the need for trained clergy. There were only a small number of trained men able to minister to the colonists. The second was to promote the professions that any new society needed. A new society needed doctors, lawyers, and learned government officials in order to prosper. The third reason was to promote general piety among the population. It was believed by the Puritan colonists that only theologically mature leaders could keep their new society from the corruption of an uncivilized new land.

Harvard was founded on the same model as the Puritans knew in England. Harvard was modeled after the universities of Cambridge and Oxford which were in turn modeled after the University of Paris. The model of the English universities

[124] Ibid.

was of primary importance to the future shape of American universities.

Cambridge and Oxford, like Paris, became national universities. Also like Paris, the English universities developed a system of colleges. Each college was a semi-autonomous unit that held a faculty, students, a library, and its own rectors. A college was usually founded and endowed by a wealthy donor and in some cases royalty. The colleges usually had a speciality such as theology or law. The colleges did share resources including libraries and faculties. Even though they had great independence and voted by college, they did come under the control of the university chancellor.[125] Harvard mimicked a college of the English universities. Harvard was a self-contained unit that had its own library and faculty.

The first Harvard statutes were written in 1646. The Puritan life was to be strictly adhered to. The statutes are personal instruction to the students. The statutes include instruction in reading the Bible twice daily, proper behavior in church, proper speech habits (i.e. No one shall take God's name in vain), and the shunning of social functions. One important statute instructs the students to not use their "Mother tongue" unless given permission to do

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[125]Alan B. Cobban, The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500, (Berkeley, Cal.: The University of California Press, 1988), see section 4 pp. 111-159 on the origin of the collegiate system.

so.[126] Some of these statutes are derived from life at Oxford and Cambridge but many of them are included to conform to the Puritan standard of personal piety. It was a rugged personal piety founded on frontier concerns and problems.

President Dunster pushed for a charter for Harvard. The charter probably first drafted by Henry Dunster was signed on May 31, 1650 by governor Thomas Doley. This is the first official charter for an institution of higher education in the American colonies. It provided for a strong governance structure and insured the exemption of Harvard from all taxes and government service.[127]

Cotton Mather (1663-1728) was a great Puritan clergy man and scholar. His Father, Increase, was president of Harvard from 1685 to 1701. Cotton Mather wrote an Ecclesiastical History of New-England in 1703. In it was an account of the beginnings of Harvard. Mather describes Harvard as being collegiate which meant that it was residential:

> 'Tis true, the University of Upsala in Sweden, hath ordinarily about seven or eight hundred students belonging to it, which do none of them live collegially, but board all of them here and there at private houses; nevertheless, the government of New-England, was for having their students brought up in more collegiate way of living.[128]

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[126] Miller, 9.

[127] ibid., 12.

[128] ibid., 15.

This is a very important point in the history of higher education in America. It was customary in many parts of Europe to have the students reside in local homes and apartments. The English colleges were specifically designed to support students outside the local community. Harvard became a residential institution and this would be the pattern throughout America. This does not mean that there were no students residing in the local communities. For a long time there was no need and no means to build standing dorms for students. However, the residential model was the ideal.

Harvard was followed by the founding of the College of William and Mary in 1693. As was the case in Massachusetts, Virginia talked early about founding a college. The Reverend James Blair (1655-1743), commissary for the Bishop of London, secured a royal chapter that authorized the building of a college in Virginia. Blair was made president for life. The grammar schools described in the charter began operation, but it seems that instruction at the collegiate level did not begin until 1729.

More important to the early directions of American higher education was the founding of Yale in 1701. Yale began as a college founded to allow students in Connecticut to go to school without having to travel extensively. There probably would have been a college somewhere in Connecticut no matter what the situation at Harvard at the time. Connecticut was a growing colony in its own right and

Massachusetts was just too far from home for many of Connecticut's potential students.[129]

However, there were many changes taking place in the coastal colonial towns. By the 1690s the frontier had receded to the Hudson river. The coastal colonies prospered as never before. New immigrants came into the colonies, not all of which understood the earlier generation's attitudes on personal piety. A new kind of civilization was being formed in the American colonies. Harvard experienced these changes as well.

YALE COLLEGE AND COTTON MATHER

The independent colony at New Haven had always been more conservative than the Connecticut colony centered at Hartford. The New Haven group liked to look towards Boston for their inspiration. New Haven and Connecticut united in 1664 and the founder John Davenport moved to Boston.

There was a general liberalization going on in the Congregational colonies. Some believed that the individual congregations had lost their direction. Cotton Mather believed that schools and colleges would reverse the trend. In 1701 a group of ministers founded a collegiate school at Saybrook. The school was moved to New Haven in 1717. In 1708 these same ministers developed the Saybrook Platform that established a mildly Presbyterian polity in

[129]Richard Warch, School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701-1740, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), 1-2.

Connecticut until 1784. The churches were brought under a church court system so that cases of scandal could be judged in the colony.[130] This was more an act of protection against Anglican forces then an embracing of non-Congregationlist ideas. The ministers of New Haven wanted to make sure that they could hold on to the true church and reject all others.

Although a college might have been founded for many reasons, it is apparent that there was a desire to have a school that was more conservative than Harvard had become. As early as 1655, Governor Theophilus Eaton brought up a proposal for a college at a New Haven town meeting. He felt that a local college would be beneficial, as the state of Harvard's piety had declined. The first president of Harvard, Henry Dunster, had come under Anabaptist influences.[131]

By 1700, the government in Boston and Massachusetts had become more influenced by Royalists and the Church of England. Harvard depended on the government to give it a charter. A feud had grown between the then Congregational president, Increase Mather, and the supporters of the Church of England over control of Harvard. Increase was supported by his son, Cotton Mather.

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[130]Roland H. Bainton, Yale and the Ministry, (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985), 7.

[131]Warch, 4.

Cotton Mather, who probably would have liked to have succeeded his father at Harvard, began to bemoan the state of the Massachusetts college:

> When New England was poor, and we were but few in number comparatively, there was a spirit to encourage learning and the college [Harvard] was full of students,... but it is deeply to be lamented that now when we are become many, and more able than at our beginnings, that society, and other inferior schools are in such a low and languishing state.[132]

Cotton Mather looked to the more conservative colony of Connecticut and found a school he could transform. Cotton Mather asked Elihu Yale (1649-1721), a wealthy English merchant who had served as governor in Madras, India, to help the new school.[133] Mather indicated that the college might assume Yale's name if he were to help in some way. Yale sent the college three bales of India goods, some books, and other items, including a valuable portrait of George I. When sold, the goods yielded 562 pounds which was more than enough to form a significant endowment at the time. In 1718, the New Haven college became Yale College.[134]

Cotton Mather was very interested in missions at this time. He and August Hermann Francke corresponded with each other through an intermediary in England. The letters were primarily concerned with the propagation of the Gospel among

[132] Bainton, 6.

[133] ibid., 7.

[134] Warch, 7-8.

the Indians.[135] It is here that the first real contact is made between a prominent figure in American higher eduction and a major figure in German Pietism. What effect this correspondence had on the founding of Yale and its subsequent structure seems to be negligible. However, it is a precursor to the impact that Pietist ideas would have on American higher eduction and is not insignificant.

The greatest influence of Pietism on American colleges would come in the form of the Great Awakening. The American colleges were founded in order to train ministers and professionals and promote the general welfare of colonial society. Some of the most influencial religious and political leaders would be trained in these institutions. The Great Awakening would transform American life, both secular and religious.

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[135] see Kuno Francke, Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke, (1896).

THE GREAT AWAKENING

A new religious movement swept through the American colonies in the 1740s. This movement was so widespread and so unsettling to the established order that it became known as the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening touched every social class and would set the future course of American society.

The Great Awakening was the American expression of Pietism. It affected all the Protestant denominations in the colonies. Pietism and its emphasis on the practice of personal virtue resulted in an outpouring of social and religious activism that had not been seen before in America. The stage for the Great Awakening was set by the social conditions of the colonies in the 1740's. The colonies had achieved prosperity and with prosperity came complexity. A complex society challenged the assumptions on which life had been built in the early days of the colonies' existence.

The new urban centers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were changing the stable rural patterns of society. The tendency of the clergy in the urban centers was to identify themselves with the growing number of rich merchants and landowners. This combined with the ever increasing population of rural families on the frontiers produced a class distinction in America that had not been seen before. There was always some kind of class distinction before this time but the colonists felt that no

matter what their class they faced the same problems. the clergy treated the classes no differently.

With the coming of urban society all that changed and the churches began to favor one class over another. The moral power of the churches had declined in these urban centers. The urban clergy was beginning to follow the rationalists of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The rural families became suspicious of the urban clergy. They did not accept Newtonian explanations of the universe. This was the background in which the new movement grew.[136]

In addition to the new cultural differences within the already resident colonists, new immigrants came to the American colonies at a steady pace into the 1700's. A large number of these immigrants came from Germany and the Low Countries at a time when Pietism was at its peak.

THEODORUS JACOB FRELINGHUYSEN

The first Pietist to come to America was sent by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1720; his name was Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen. Frelinghuysen was a graduate of the University of Lingen in Holland where he came into contact with many of the intellectual leaders of the Pietist

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[136]Perry Miller, Alan Heimert, edts., The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and its Consequences, (New York: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1967), xiv-xvi.

movement of the Dutch Reformed Church.[137]

Freylinghuysen was taught many of the same ideas about conversion, preaching, and conventicles that had been promoted in Germany. Freylinghuysen learned to preach on conversion and to mistrust an unconverted minister. He was also taught how to conduct personal devotions and give catechetical instruction to the church's laity.

In 1719, Freylinghuysen received a call to serve overseas. He presented himself to the Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam, the body in charge of church activities in the American colonies. He was accepted and was quickly sent to America several months later.[138]

When Freylinghuysen arrived he was greeted warmly at first by the resident Dutch clergy of New York and New Jersey. After his first sermon, however, he was looked upon with a great deal of suspicion and anger. Freylinghuysen began to examine his parishioners for signs of conversion before he would allow them to partake of the Lord's Supper. He preached sermons of conversion and started to hold prayer meetings and conventicles to teach the religion of the heart.[139] Freylinghuysen would become a great influence

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[137]Milton J. Coalter, Jr., Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism's Impact on the First Great Awakenings in the Middle Colonies, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 12.

[138]Coalter, 13.

[139]ibid., 15.

in the religious life of New Jersey and of a young minister named Gilbert Tennent (1703-1791).

WILLIAM AND GILBERT TENNENT

William Tennent, Sr. (1673-1746) was a Scottish Presbyterian minister born in Ireland and educated in Edinburgh. Because of his Irish relations William Tennent was ordained into the Church of Ireland in 1704, just two years after his marriage to a radical Presbyterian dissenter named Katherine Kennedy. This seems to have been a political choice and not a religious one. The Greenshields, Irish relations from William's side of the family, felt it important to their future in Ireland to be connected with the Church of Ireland. William Tennent's Presbyterian background was an embarrassment to them.[140]

The Tennent's were very unhappy with the situation that they found themselves in. In 1718, William Tennent wrote a long list of complaints about the established Church of Ireland's practice and theology. The personal disagreements with the Church of Ireland were sufficient for William Tennent to move his family to the American Colonies. In America he could return to his native Presbyterian church. On September 6, 1718, William Tennent and his family arrived in Philadelphia. Less than two weeks later William asked for membership in the Presbyterian Synod.[141]

[140] ibid., 3.

[141] ibid.

In order to convince the Presbyterians to take him back William Tennent submitted his list of complaints against the established Church in Ireland and Great Britain.

The Tennents lived for several years on property the family purchased in New York. In 1721, William Tennent realized that his meager salary as a minister could not cover the expense of keeping the property. In the fall of that year the Tennents moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. There they lived in a house along the York Road between New York and Philadelphia. The constant demands on the Tennents for their hospitality by travellers along the road did not help their financial situation. William was also pastoring two congregations in the area, one Dutch and one Ulster Scots.[142]

In order to give the Tennents some peace from the constant press of travelers, James Logan, a distant cousin, offered to sell fifty acres of land to William. The land was in a secluded part of Northampton Township. The Tennents remained there until 1735 when they moved to a one hundred acre plot of land in Warminster Township.

It was at the Tennent home in Warminster Township that an informal seminary for the training of new ministers was established by William. William Tennent had long believed in the value of a good education. At one point in 1725 William was even considered for the rectorship of Yale

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[142] ibid, 5.

College. William Tennent knew the need for trained ministers in the middle colonies. He also knew that the young men needed to be taught at home because they could not afford to go to Yale or Harvard. From a log structure on his Warminster farm, William Tennent taught his theology to several young men who wished to become ministers. The new school was quickly dubbed the "Log College".

William Tennent had developed a theology that closely resembled the Pietists on the continent. There is no evidence that he derived his teachings from the Pietists, but it is almost certainly true that this well-read minister knew of the Pietists and their teachings. William Tennent was deeply concerned with the specter of an unconverted minister. In a series of homilies William Tennent laid out what was probably taught at his "Log College". In this series of homilies William Tennent outlined a theology based on conversion and piety. He taught his students a "heart" religion that was experiential and experimental. The impact of the "Log College" on the Great Awakening was tremendous. Out of nineteen men who studied under William Tennent, all but two became revivalist ministers.[143]

William Tennent's eldest son was named Gilbert. Gilbert Tennent was a student of his father's theology and an admirer of Freylinghuysen. Gilbert's early life was spent with his family in Northern Ireland. The year William

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[143] ibid.

decided to leave for America, Gilbert was apparently starting to train for a career in law. It was at this time in his life that Gilbert had great spiritual torment. Gilbert Tennent finally ended his association with his "law work" in 1724 and ended his period of spiritual uncertainty. Gilbert Tennent experienced conversion and sought to follow his father's footsteps into the Presbyterian ministry.

Gilbert travelled to Connecticut and entered "New London College". This part of Gilbert Tennent's life seems to be a mystery. He received a Master of Arts degree from Yale in 1725 without a mention of a previously acquired bachelor's degree.[144] In the mid-1720s it was required that a student spend four years of residency for the bachelor's degree and three years of residency before the examination for the master's degree. It seems probable that Gilbert Tennent had acquired such an extensive education in Ireland and from his father that he was either promoted to master's rank or had received a bachelor's degree that has been unmentioned. In either case, the Master of Arts degree allowed Gilbert Tennent to be accepted by the Philadelphia Presbytery as a minister.

Gilbert Tennent met Freylinghuysen about six months after arriving at his new parish in New Brunswick in 1726. The two ministers found much in common and by 1728 Gilbert was preaching to Freylinghuysen's congregations. The

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[144] ibid, 10.

following year both men led a joint communion service in which Frelinghuysen preached in Dutch and Tennent prayed and administered the covenant in English.[145]

Gilbert Tennent and his father preached a pietistic ministry. They examined their parishioners' hearts and believed that a minister can only be effective if he had personally experienced conversion. There were many controversies and problems with other Presbyterian ministers and ministers of other denominations. There was a growing rift among the Presbyterians regarding polity and theology.

The subscription controversy in Northern Ireland had spread to the colonies. There was a growing concern of theological correctness in the Presbyterian Church. Many in the church wanted every member to subscribe to the Westminster confession. There arose ministers such as Jonathan Dickinson who believed that the Bible should be the centerpiece of the church. Human creeds were considered fallible. The Tennents saw the Westminster confession as a major influence in their personal piety. They backed personal subscription for that reason.[146]

Another controversy in the Presbyterian Church was the problem of itinerant ministers. Gilbert Tennent traveled extensively, spreading his ministry of conversion throughout the middle colonies. In addition to his regular parish he

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[145] ibid, 18.

[146] ibid., 38.

acted as a supply pastor for several churches in New Jersey and New York. This traveling ministry caused much controversy in Presbyterian circles. In addition, Gilbert Tennent was commonly seen preaching to groups outside the Presbyterian fold. His concern was with the state of souls wherever he found them. This did not sit well in the politically charged atmosphere of the colonies.

Although he was at first a subscriptionist, Gilbert Tennent was separated from them by his insistence on an itinerant ministry. The Synod subscriptionists began to believe that Tennent was intentionally ignoring the authority of the Synod.[147]

In an effort to keep the church from breaking apart the two sides reached a compromise in 1738. The Synod approved the itinerancy act which allowed ministers to supply vacant parishes under the strict supervision of the Presbytery. At the same time a new Synod centered at New Brunswick was approved. This is important because three of the four ministers in the new Synod were trained at William Tennent's "Log College". This allowed the new Awakening to take root in New Jersey.

A new controversy arose between the New Brunswick ministers and the subscriptionists. A new examining system was put in place. This examining system would allow new ministers without bachelor's degrees to submit to an

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[147] ibid., 47-48.

examination by a board of approval and thereby gain a license to preach. This board would examine the candidate and ensure that he knew the three Holy languages and had sufficient knowledge of the Scriptures and proper theology. This would give the subscriptionists the power to exclude any minister that was taught in the "Log College" because they did not have the proper theology. The subscriptionists could stop the flow of ministers who were the source of the new Awakening. The New Brunswick Synod ignored the order and continued to produce Awakening ministers.[148]

GEORGE WHITEFIELD

The Great Awakening took on colony-wide proportions with the arrival of George Whitefield (1714-1770). George Whitefield was perhaps the first of what could be called "national" evangelical preachers. Whitefield began his career in England with John and Charles Wesley. He was so popular in England that reports had already reached the colonies of his exploits.[149]

Whitefield was an example of Calvinistic Methodism. He was educated at Oxford and was a member of the Holy Club started by John and Charles Wesley. John Wesley was profoundly influenced by Moravian Pietism. Whitefield became influenced by the Wesleys and only parted company

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[148] ibid., 48-51.

[149] Miller, xxiv.

when he became enamored with Calvinist teaching on predestination.

Whitefield was ordained a deacon in the Anglican church in 1736 and became a full minister in 1738. However, his strong evangelical beliefs as expressed in his extensive traveling throughout England got him banned from most Anglican pulpits.

John Wesley was deeply impressed by August Hermann Francke and his charitable schools. Wesley had visited the Georgia colony and expressed a desire that someone should return there and start a missionary school. Whitefield was given the assignment and he accepted. He decided to travel to the American colonies and landed on the coast of Georgia in October 30, 1739.[150]

Whitefield seemed a perfect match for the theology of the Tennents. Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent both believed in a strong mission of conversion and both held to a strong Calvinist doctrine. His power as an open air preacher became legendary. It was Whitefield who sparked the embers of revival in America into the Great Awakening. Someone noted at the time that "He is the Wonder of the Age."[151]

William Tennent, Sr. met with Whitefield during his first tour of the colonies during a stop near Philadelphia.

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[150]Douglas Sloan, edt., The Great Awakening and American Education: A Documentary History, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973), 9.

[151]Miller, xxv.

William explained the nature of his "Log College" and the work of his sons in New Jersey. Whitefield immediately identified with the Tennents and said so in his journal:

> As far as I can find, both he [William Tennent, Sr.] and his Sons are secretly despised by the Generality of the Synod, as Mr. Erskine and his Brethren are hated by the Judicatories of Edinburgh, and as the Methodist Preachers are by their Brethren in England. Though we are but few, and stand as it were alone like Elijah, and though they, like the priests of Baal, are many in Number, yet I doubt not but the Lord will appear for us, as he did for that Prophet, and make us more than Conquerors.[152]

Whitefield made his next stop in New Brunswick. He met Gilbert Tennent there and the two became allies in the Great Awakening. Gilbert offered to accompany Whitefield on this trip to New York. Whitefield agreed heartily and the two were joined in the same camp.

Whitefield not only preached but attempted to raise the school he had come to America to build. In 1742, Whitefield wrote a letter to the son of August Hermann Francke at Halle expressing his admiration and explaining his mission:

> Rev. Sir, Long have I desired writing to you, but something or another has always prevented me. However, I can now defer it no longer. For though I never saw you in the flesh, yet I love and highly esteem you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and wish you much prosperity in the work of the Lord. Your honored father's memory is very precious to me. His account of the Orphan-house[153] hath, under God, been a great support and

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[152]George Whitefield, Journals, (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1960), 344-345.

[153]This seems to refer to the *Pietas Hallensis*.

encouragement to me in a like undertaking. How it prospers, the account sent with this will inform you. Only it will be proper to observe, that since the publication of the last, there have been upwards of 300 l. collected. I am yet about 400 l. in arrears. But I know in whom I have believed, for the carrying on of that building. Hitherto it has answered its motto, and has been like the burning bush on fire, but not consumed. The Colony's late deliverance from the Spaniards was very extraordinary. I cannot but think the Lord intends yet to do great things for Georgia. How is it with the Saltzburghers? I have not heard. Sometime ago I sent them over twenty pounds, and wish it was in my power to send them more. About January, God willing, I intend to embark. In the mean while, I should be glad to know, Rev. Sir, how it is with your Orphan-house? and whether you have any commands to Georgia? I suppose you have heard of the work of God in Scotland. Indeed the word has run and been glorified, and Jesus has gotten himself the victory in many hearts. In England also he is pleased to bless us. Here are many close followers of the blessed Lamb of God, and though there is a difference of opinion between me and Mr. W----,[154] yet Jesus pities us and blesses us all. I long for that time, "when the watchmen shall all see eye to eye; when the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the lion eat straw like the ox, and the people of God learn war and jangle no more." Hasten that time, O glorious Emmanuel, and let thy kingdom come? --Rev. Sir, whilst I am writing, the fire of love kindles in my heart. I am amazed, to think the blessed Jesus should employ such an unworthy wretch as I am. But grace is free, for, O my God, it found me out. The love you bear to the lovely Jesus, I am persuaded will excite you to pray for me. Glad should I be of a line from you, and the Rev. Mr. Ulsburgher; but I deserve no regard for not writing to you both. But you know how to forgive, for God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Hoping therefore for a line from you by the hands of the Rev. Mr. Z---. I subscribe myself, Reverend and dear Sir, Your most obliged, affectionate, tho' unworthy younger

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[154]This seems to refer to the disagreement between John Wesley and George Whitefield over predestination and election.

brother and servant in the kingdom and patience of the blessed Jesus, G. W.[155]

Later Whitefield would found an orphan house in Philadelphia. This orphan house would develop into the University of Pennsylvania.[156] The University of Pennsylvania cannot be considered an institution of the Great Awakening. Nor can it be considered to be substantially influenced by Pietists. There was more influence at the University of Pennsylvania from Enlightenment-influenced figures such as Benjamin Franklin. However, without the energy and inspiration of Whitefield the University of Pennsylvania would have had a different character. Today there is a powerful statue of George Whitefield on the University of Pennsylvania campus, proclaiming him as its founder.

The split among the Presbyterians increased. The subscriptionists were already angry with the revivalists. The antisubscriptionists lead by Jonathan Dickinson rejected the enthusiasm of the new movement. The revival preachers were too unseemly and emotional for either side. And the revivalists looked on the unconverted minister with disdain.

The Presbyterians divided into two warring camps. The revivalists became known as the New Lights and the

[155]George Whitefield, The Letters of George Whitefield, (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1976), 469.

[156]William Joseph Thompson, "George Whitefield: Educator and University Founder", (Methodist Review v. 109, May, 1926), 340-355.

subscriptionists and antisubscriptionists became the Old Lights.[157]

COUNT ZINZENDORF AND HENRY MUHLENBERG

During this time the Lutherans brought their own controversy to America. The Pietists had a commanding presence in Lutheran theology in Germany. The German Lutherans were for the most part influenced by the movement.

The controversy came with the coming of the Moravians and especially the arrival of Zinzendorf himself. The Moravians had been reconstituted under Zinzendorf's leadership and had taken a radical Pietist theology.[158] They had long been associated with missionary work. In fact, it was Moravian missionaries that affected John Wesley on his trip to the Georgia colony.[159]

In 1735, August Gottlieb Spangenburg, was sent to America. He soon founded churches in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. The Moravians thrived in America. It was in Georgia that John Wesley met with Spangenburg and started a process of conversion that would lead Wesley to visit Germany.[160]

Zinzendorf's Moravian community at Herrnhut gathered many visitors. Whitefield continued to correspond with

[157] Miller, xxxv-xxxix.

[158] Erb, 20-21.

[159] ibid., 24.

[160] ibid., 22-23.

Zinzendorf and informed him of the Awakening. In 1741, Zinzendorf came to America to see for himself and look in on the Moravian churches. Zinzendorf arrived with the hope of uniting all the German speaking Protestants in America.[161]

Zinzendorf introduced excesses in the devotional life of the Moravians. These excesses embarrassed the leaders of the Awakening, who were trying to separate themselves from the charge of excessive enthusiasm. Gilbert Tennent wrote a treatise against the errors that he saw in the Moravians, called The Necessity of Holding Fast the Truth.[162]

Zinzendorf was also a problem for the Pietist leaders at Halle. Zinzendorf was not a Lutheran minister. His attempts to unite the Lutherans of America were causing problems. The Lutherans of Pennsylvania wrote to Halle for a new minister. In 1741, Gottlif August Francke, the son of August Hermann Francke, sent Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) to Pennsylvania to minister to the Lutherans of Pennsylvania.[163]

Muhlenberg was educated at Gottingen and at Halle. He was trained in the mainstream Pietist tradition and was eager to do the job. Muhlenberg was ordained in 1739. He accepted Francke's call to be pastor of three loosely

[161] Miller, 491.

[162] ibid., 490.

[163] Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, T.D. Tappert, J.W. Doberstein, trans. (Evansville, Indiana: Whippoorwill Publications, (reprint) 1982), 6-9.

organized German Lutheran congregations around Philadelphia.[164]

He arrived in Pennsylvania in 1742 and soon began to organize the Lutherans into a unified body. Muhlenberg became fast friends with Gilbert Tennent and other leaders in the Awakening. Muhlenberg's Journal tells much about the German Pietist influence of a leader of the Great Awakening. Muhlenberg describes a conversation with a Rev. Mr. Pemberton. Muhlenberg describes Pemberton as being trained in New England and having associated with Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent. In this conversation Pemberton reveals a deep knowledge of German Pietism and even acknowledges influence from the Pietists:

> I made my first visit to the Rev. Mr. Pemberton, preacher of the Presbyterian or so-called Scottish church. He was much pleased and said that he had received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Tennent, the Presbyterian preacher in Philadelphia, in which he mentioned my name and advised him to cultivate my acquaintance, etc. He immediately began to speak of the late Professor Francke and said that he had read some of his Latin writings and also learned to know the late Court Preacher Bohm of London from a preface to True Christianity and other translated tracts. He declared that he had derived much edification and light from frequent reading of a Latin tract which described the life and conversion of the late Professor Francke. There was one point in the tract, however, which he desired to have cleared up, namely, in the place where he says that he struggled one night with fear and doubt and finally received the certainty of grace in a certain hour, etc., he fails to point out the manner and the means by which he arrived at the certainty and assurance of grace. But the result surely did prove sufficiently that he had been a truly pardoned man

[164] ibid.

> and an exceptional servant and propagator of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ from whose body rivers of living water have flowed to all parts of the world, etc. I promised to look into the matter and consult with my brethren about it, but I was silently ashamed that I did not own a copy of the book. We had some further pleasant conversation and, as I was leaving, he desired that I should visit him again.[165]

Muhlenberg succeeded in uniting the German Lutherans and the Dutch Lutherans. He established a Lutheran Synod and is considered the progenitor of the Lutheran movement in America.

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[165]Muhlenberg, vol I, 290-291.

THE IMPACT OF THE GREAT AWAKENING

The Great Awakening had a significant impact on the future of American colleges and universities. There were several institutions founded during this period. Most of these colleges were influenced in one way or another by the Great Awakening. The older institutions also were affected by the religious movement of the time. There is a strong connection between the people behind the founding of these institutions and the Pietist educational ideals.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND THE HARVARD CONTROVERSY

There was a great division between the predominantly Calvinist Awakeners among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians and the emerging Arminian movements of Methodists, Moravians, and Baptists. Although the core of most conflicts was the basic idea of itinerancy, conversion, and piety, there was also an undercurrent of charges of Arminianism in many arguments. These undercurrents existed in the Harvard Controversy.

George Whitefield, while preaching in Boston, launched an all out attack on Harvard and its professors. Whitefield in his Journal when commenting on New England said, "As for the Universities, I believe, it may be said, their Light is become Darkness."[166]

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[166]Hofstadter, 64.

Whitefield had many problems with the education of the New England colleges. He believed that the English Universities had lost their way and that the New England Colleges were following:

> As far as I could gather from some who well knew the State of it [the New England Colleges] no far superior to our Universities, in Piety and true Godliness.[167]

Whitefield complained that the Harvard Tutors "neglect to pray with and examine the Hearts of their Pupils.-- Discipline is at too low an Ebb -- Bad Books are become fashionable among them. -- Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepherd, Stoddard, and such like evangelical Writers."[168]

George Whitefield was suspect, not only because he was an itinerant preacher, but also because he was associated with the Methodists. The Methodists were despised by the Congregationalists because they tended to be Arminians. As was stated above Whitefield had been converted to Calvinism. This tension added to the situation. But the main controversy was the state of Harvard and Yale as regards to the piety of the students that were expected to become ministers.

A conflict developed over the nature of the minister and the purpose of education. The colleges of New England were challenged to prove their usefulness. When in 1744

[167] ibid.

[168] ibid.

Whitefield announced that he would return to New England the Harvard professors were ready.

Upon Whitefield's arrival the professors of Harvard issued a testimony against him. In the testimony they charged Whitefield with enthusiasm and slanderous behavior unbecoming anyone claiming the Holy Spirit as a guide. Here is an example of the testimony that shows the vehemence of the Harvard faculty and the attitude that had come to pervade the existing colleges in regard to the revivalists:

> First then, we charge him, with Enthusiasm. Now that we may speak clearly upon his head, we mean by an Enthusiast, one that acts, either according to Dreams, or some sudden Impulses and Impressions upon his Mind, which he fondly imagines to be from the Spirit of God, persuading and inclining him thereby to such and such Actions, tho' he hath no Proof that such Persuasions or Impressions are from the Holy Spirit: For the perceiving a strong Impression upon our Minds, or a violent Inclinations to do any Actions, is a very different Thing from perceiving such Impressions to be from the Spirit of God moving upon the Heart: For our strong Faith and Belief, that such a Motion on the Mind comes from God, can never be any proof of it; and if such Impulses and Impressions be not agreeable to our Reason, or to the Revelation of the Mind of God to us, in his Word, nothing can be more dangerous than conducting ourselves according to them...[169]

Whitefield wrote back in his own defense, but the damage was already done. Whitefield protested that he was Calvinist also and that the founders of Harvard would agree with his criticism of the institution:

> Gentlemen, I profess my self a Calvinist as to Principles, and preach no other Doctrines than those which your pious Ancestors and the Founders

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[169] ibid., 62-63.

> of Harvard College preached long before I was born,--And less to destroy the Order of the New-England Churches, or turn out the Generality of their Minister, or re-settle them with Ministers from England, Scotland, and Ireland, as hath been hinted in a late Letter written by the Reverend Mr. Clap, Rector of Yale-College:--Such a thought never entered my Heart; neither as I know of, has my Preaching the least Tendency therunto.--I undetermined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and him crucified.--I have no Intention of setting up a Party for my self, or to stir up People against their Pastors...[170]

The Harvard controversy made it clear that there would be no room for revivalists at Harvard College. A young man who wanted to follow Whitefield and believed in his teachings would not find a home in New England.

Even in Yale an Awakening-inspired young man could not find a satisfactory environment for learning. Soon after the Harvard denunciation of Whitefield, the faculty of Yale wrote their own:

> We have read the several declarations of the Reverend and Honored the President, Professors and Tutors of Harvard College, of the Reverend, the ministers of four associations near Boston, and of the Rev. Mr. Walter F. Roxbury, and others, and do in substance agree and concur with them in our sentiments, and think it proper more largely to insist upon two things,
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> First, It has always appeared to us, that you and other itinerants have laid a scheme to turn the generality of ministers out of their places, and to introduce a new set of such as should be in a peculiar manner attached to you; and this you would effect by prejudicing the minds of people against their minister, and thereby induce them to discard them or separate from them...[171]

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[170] ibid.

[171] Sloan, 143.

The situation was becoming desperate for Awakening preachers and their students. It was strikingly similar to the situation in Germany before the founding of Pietist faculty at the University of Halle.

THOMAS CLAP, YALE, AND THE CLEVELAND AFFAIR

In 1740 the Great Awakening was beginning to spread to every denomination in America. The Congregationalists were no exception. Prodded by the preaching of George Whitefield and others, the Congregationalists of New England began to divide. Just as the Presbyterians split between the Old Lights and the New Lights, the Congregationalists also had their Old Lights and New Lights.

In New England, as in the Middle Colonies, the spirit of revival was generating people who were questioning the old theocracy. The moral values of the populace were lax and this was reflected in the colleges of New England. The greatest leader of the New England revival was the Reverend Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).

Jonathan Edwards was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, of old Puritan stock. Edwards graduated from Yale in 1720 and then entered the ministry. In 1726, he was assistant pastor to his grandfather Solomon Stoddard in Northhampton, Massachusetts. Edwards became sole pastor after his grandfather's death in 1729 and remained there until 1750, when his views on the Lord's Supper led to fractional fighting within his congregation. Edwards had

become convinced that the Lord's Supper should only be given to the converted.

Edwards then became a missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge. It was at Stockbridge that he wrote his most influential works. Edwards was at the front line in the split in the Congregational churches throughout the Great Awakening.

Jonathan Edwards represented the new thinking of the Great Awakening very well. He not only supported the experiential religion of Pietism, he opened up the way for the Enlightenment in America. Just as the Pietists in Germany opened the way for the French Enlightenment to come to Germany, Edwards made the English Enlightenment thinkers acceptable to the religious in America. Edwards defended John Lock, especially his ideas on epistemology. Edwards felt that the experiential religion of Pietism and the Awakening went well with Locke's ideas on the human being as a "blank slate".[172]

The power and influence Edwards had on the local populace was enough to worry the old Puritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut. By 1740, at the peak of the Awakening the officials of Yale believed it was time to put controls on this new thinking. They elected a staunch Old Light Congregationalist named Thomas Clap as rector.[173]

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[172]Bainton, 18.

[173]ibid., 12.

Clap was reactionary when confronted with the great ministers of the Awakening. He saw Yale as the training ground for American ministers. Clap believed that it was important to keep a careful watch on everything that went into the minds of the youth under his care. A gift of books from a holder of "erroneous" religious opinions was rejected because of the stipulation that the books be freely available to all students. Clap saw it as part of his responsibility to control such material.[174]

The teachings of the Awakening became one of the main reasons that Clap began to revise the Laws of Yale in 1745. Clap was elected rector, and by 1745 he had become president of Yale and changed the structure of governance for American colleges.

The greatest problem that Clap had with the Awakening was its view of the ministry. There were many laymen preaching throughout the countryside. Clap saw this as a threat to the established ministry and to Yale itself. If the preaching of lay exhorters was valid what was the purpose of an education at Yale? Clap believed that the laymen should go to regular meetings and not be preaching in the streets. This included those who were not true graduates, such as those who were trained in William Tennent's Log College. The one incident that best

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[174] ibid.

illustrates the impact of the controversy is the Cleveland Affair.

In 1721, three years after graduating from Yale, Edwards returned to New Haven and reported on the state of the college that was to carry the old Puritan banner:

> Monstrous impieties...In the College, Particularly stealing of Hens, Geese, turkeys, pigs, Meat, Wood, etc., - Unseasonable Nightwalking, Breaking People's windows, playing at Cards, Cursing, Swearing, and Damning, and using all manner of ill language, which never were at such a pitch in the College as they now are.[175]

Thomas Clap had put a stop to much immorality on the Yale campus when he took the Rector's chair. However, Clap refused to recognize the general revival that was going on inside his own school. The young men that were coming to Yale were heavily influenced by Jonathan Edwards, William and Gilbert Tennent, and George Whitefield. There were lay exhorters and Awakening ministers preaching in the streets of New Haven and influencing the students of Yale. In March of 1741 several young men were fined for following Gilbert Tennent to Milford, Connecticut. The students were so impressed with Tennent's preaching that they wanted to hear him speak again.[176]

The lay exhorters Solomon and Elisha Paine were very popular. The Paines were so influential that they drew the attention of Clap and the faculty of Yale. There was a

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[175] ibid., 15.

[176] Coalter, 142.

general rule that all the students of Yale were expected to attend the regular Sunday meetings at the Canterbury church. Two students, John and Ebenezer Cleveland, decided to withdraw from the services at Canterbury and attend the services led by the Paines. This breach of orthodoxy was enough to get them expelled from Yale.

On November 19th, 1744, the Rector and Tutors of Yale issued a statement on the errors of the Paines and the reasons for expelling John and Ebenezer Cleveland. In the letter the officials state that the local ministers brought the charges against the Paines and brought them to the attention of the Yale officials:

> We thought ourselves bound, for the Honor of Christ & the Welfare of your Souls, to give an account of these things, that so you may see to what danger persons are Exposed in running after such Teachers, and how false are their pretences to the especial Impulses of the Holy Ghost, in calling them to preach,-That God has in his Providence Testified against their Practice; diverse of those who have undertaken this work have fallen into scandalous Sins and Miscarriages, and other into foul and dreadful Errors, miserable Weakness and strange perverting the Word of God.[177]

The reasons for the expulsion of the Clevelands gives a good example of the kind of preaching that was going on in the Awakening. The Paines taught the conversion of individuals as the sole basis for true Christianity. They also advocated that all true Christians can preach, no matter what their background might be. The Clevelands were

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[177]Hofstader, 76.

obviously attracted to this kind of preaching. In order to set an example of propriety for the Yale students, the officials decided to expel the Clevelands:

> In the next place it appears to us, That John Cleveland and Ebenezer Cleveland, Students of this College, had imbibed and practiced sundry of those Principles and Errors, by their withdrawing from the public Worship of God in the Congregation in Canterbury and attending upon the Meeting of those Paines, and by justifying these Errors before us. Particularly,
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> 1. It appears to us that they had imbibed the Third Error there mentioned, (viz) That no other Call is necessary to a person's undertaking to preach the Gospel, but his being a true Christian and having an inward Motion of the Spirit; or a persuasion in his own Mind that it is the Will of God that he should Preach. Tho' they sometimes added this Proviso, That such persons had a sufficient Ability to preach or teach to Edification: And they particularly justified the preaching of the Paines; And John Cleveland said, that Solomon Paine could preach better than he could, if he should study Divinity this Seven Years.
>
> 2. That they had imbibed the Fifth Error there mentioned (viz.) That at such meetings of Lay-preaching and Exhorting, they have more of the Presence of God than under the present Ministry: And that the extraordinary influence of the Spirit accompanied the preaching of the Paines; and said, that thereby they were filled with such a strong and lively Impression of divine Things, as made them come home Singing along the Streets.
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> 3. They asserted, That every true Christian was as much United to god as Christ was; and brought those words of Christ to prove it. That they all may be one, even as we are one. Joh 17.21, etc. But they being Examined about Mr. Paine's denying the Doctrine of the Trinity, said, They did not know, or had not heard that he did deny it.
>
> We being apprehensive of the fatal Tendency of these and such like Errors, which the said Clevelands had imbibed, and were likely more and more to imbibe, if they were permitted to attend upon the preaching of the Paines; and the danger

> that they might Infect and Corrupt the College (which would be very definitive to Religion) after discoursing with them several times, proceeded to give the following Judgment;[178]

It is not known whether the Paines actually denied the Trinity. Although this is important to the Yale official's argument, it is not an important point in the overall incident. The most important point in Clap's view was the withdrawing of the student's from the regular Sunday meetings by a minister approved by the church:

> Upon Information that John Cleveland and Ebenezer Cleveland, Members of this College, withdrew from the public Worship of God in the Meeting-house in Canterbury, carried on by Mr. Cogwell, a Licensed and Approved Candidate for the Ministry, preaching there at the desire of the first Parish or Society in Canterbury, with the special direction of the Association of the County of Windham; and that they the said Clevelands, with sundry others belonging to Canterbury and Plainfield, did go to & attend upon a private separate meeting in a private House, for divine Worship, carried on principally by one Solomon Paine, a Lay-Exhorter, on several Sabbaths in September or October last.[179]

It is not surprising that with incidents of this type occurring at Yale that Thomas Clap found it necessary to rewrite the Laws of Yale in 1745. He gave himself more authority over the students and encouraged the notion of college officials being "in loci parentis".

Clap elevated the Rector to the title of President. He also wrote several Laws that required the President to attend to the religious life of the students. The President

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[178] ibid.

[179] ibid., 77-78.

is to say morning prayers and regularly preach to the students. In addition, a rule was made to ensure that any student that followed the Clevelands' lead would be expelled:

> No Student of this College Shall attend upon any Religious Meetings either Public or Private on the Sabbath or any other Day but Such as are appointed by Public Authority or Approved by the President upon Penalty of a Fine, Public Admonition, Confession or Otherwise according to the Nature or Demerit of the Offence.[180]

Clap reinforced these Laws by giving them the stamp of government approval. Thomas Clap requested and received a charter for Yale from the governor of Connecticut that same year. Yale is still governed under the Charter of 1745.

THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY

George Whitefield's tour of the Middle Colonies in 1739 helped Gilbert Tennent in his cause with the populace and the antisubscriptionists that were part of the Old Side Presbyterians. The leader of the antisubscriptionists, John Dickinson, had come to believe that ministers were the instruments of God. George Whitefield's attack on ministers that were "well versed in the doctrines of Grace, having learned them at the university, but not withstanding are heart hypocrites, and enemies to the power of godliness" gave Dickinson new ideas about the Tennent revivals.

In addition, Whitefield was not subject to the Itinerancy Act of the Presbyterian Synod. As an itinerant

[180] ibid., 55.

minister Whitefield garnered new attention on local revivalists and their causes. Whitefield was popular and his endorsement of the Tennents was an important part of the new prestige of the New Brunswick ministers.[181]

During Tennent's journey with Whitefield to New York there were many occasions for argument with the local ministers. Whitefield was met with hostility and Tennent was accused of violating the Itineracy Act. Dickinson tried to calm the furor by offering Whitefield his pulpit in which to preach.[182] But Tennent was furious and he launched an angry polemic against the "carnal Ministers".

On March 8, 1740, Gilbert Tennent preached a sermon on "the dangers of an unconverted ministry". In this sermon he told his listeners that the natural Man is unfit to preach the Word of God. The Holy Spirit must dwell in the minister and speak through him. Tennent also warned that the unconverted minister will work against godliness. In his last statements he laments the fact that vacant congregations did not choose their ministers carefully. They accepted the ministers that are glossed over with learning, but do not truly believe:

> And O! that vacant Congregations would take due care the Choice of their Minister! Here indeed they should hasten slowly. The church of Ephesus is commended, for Trying them which said they were Apostles, and were not; and for finding them Liars. Hypocrites are against all Knowing of

[181] Coalter, 62-64.

[182] Coalter, 63.

> others, and Judging, in order to hide their own Filthiness; like Thieves they flee a Search, because of the stolen Goods. But the more they endeavor to hide, the more they expose their Shame. Does not the spiritual Man judge all Things? Tho' he cannot know the States of subtil Hypocrites infallibly; yet may he not give a near Guess, who are the Sons of Sceva, by their Manner of Praying, Preaching, and Living? Many Pharisee-Teachers have got long fine String of Prayer by heart, so that they are never at a Loss about it; their Prayers and Preachings are generally of a Length, and both as dead as a Stone, and without all Savour. I beseech you, my dear Brethren, to consider, That there is no Probability of your getting Good, by the Ministry of Pharisees. For they are no Shepherds (no faithful ones) in Christ's Account. They are as good as none, nay, worse than none, upon some Accounts. For take them first and last, and they generally do more Hurt than Good. They strive to keep better out of the Places where they live; nay, when the Life of Piety comes near their Quarters, they rise up in Arms against it, consult, contrive and combine in their Conclaves against it, as a common Enemy, that discovers and condemns their Craft and Hypocrisy. And with what Art, Rhetoric, and Appearances of Piety, will they varnish their Opposition of Christ's Kingdom? As the magicians imitated the Works of Moses, so do false Apostles, and deceitful Workers, the Apostles of Christ.[183]

The problem became that the number of converted ministers that were qualified to take a parish was very small. The Log College could not produce enough ministers. William Tennent, Sr. was getting older and it was clear that the Log College would die with him. The continuous battles with the Philadelphia Synod over the education of ministers made it important for the New Brunswick party to have its own institution of higher learning.

The Old Lights had tried to establish an academy. The Synod attempted to establish their own academy for youth

[183]Miller, 98-99.

that would later enter college. The attempt was postponed because of the schism with the Awakeners and King George's War. In 1744, the Philadelphia Synod took over Francis Alison's academy in New London, Pennsylvania. The Synod expected a charter to soon follow even up until 1746.

The Old Lights met with Thomas Clap to arrange an informal relationship with Yale College. The Synod wrote a letter which explained the past difficulties with the New Brunswick party over education. The Synod asked Clap to support their cause by overlooking any slight deficiencies in the education of their students and admit them to Yale without further examination. Clap did not reply favorably and in 1752 the academy closed after the loss of its founder, Francis Alison.

Dickinson and the antisubscriptionists had aligned themselves with the Awakening and took the New York Presbytery with them. Dickinson saw that William Tennent, Sr. could not survive long and that Harvard and Yale could not be trusted to teach future revival ministers.[184] The New York Presbytery was keenly motivated to establish a new college.

The New York Presbytery was uncertain about Gilbert Tennent and the New Brunswick Party. They were concerned that the revivalists' attacks on unconverted ministers would become a rejection of all learning for the ministry.

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[184]Miller, 142.

Gilbert Tennent's new association with Jonathan Dickinson decreased the concerns of the Presbytery. Despite this new association, the New York Presbytery decided to seek a charter before consulting with Tennent.[185]

A group from New York that included Jonathan Dickinson, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Aaron Burr, and three prominent laymen asked for a charter for a new college from the governor of New Jersey. The original plan of the New York group was to make sure that the college was controlled by the New Light Presbyterians. However, the governor of New Jersey, Lewis Morris, was a staunch believer in government and the Anglican church. He would not allow a dissenting group to have its own school.[186]

The New York group decided to base their petition on the right to religious freedom. The new college would be controlled by New Light Presbyterians, but no one would be excluded because of religious affiliation. As has been seen this is not uncharacteristic of a Pietistic group. The legal argument was based on the Fundamental Concessions of the New Jersey colony of 1664.

After acquiring enough initial monetary support the New Light group approached Morris with their charter. At first Morris rejected the charter because he was afraid that it would anger the Anglican Bishop of London. Morris died

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[185] Coalter, 143.

[186] ibid.

suddenly in May of 1746. John Hamilton became the new governor. Hamilton was old and ill and depended on his advisors. Fortunately, Hamilton's advisors were contributors to the new college. Hamilton signed the charter on October 22, 1746.[187]

The Charter for the College of New Jersey states clearly that there would be no denominational discrimination:

> the said Petitioners have also expressed their earnest Desire that those of every Religious Denomination may have free and Equal Liberty and Advantage of Education in the Said College [notwithstanding] any different Sentiments in Religion notwithstanding.[188]

The charter also provided for thirteen trustees. The majority of seven were allowed to vote on and approve the remaining six members. The remaining trustees would include the revivalists from the New Brunswick Presbytery. The New York group had aligned itself with the Tennent party. The Tennent party was also essential for the financial stability and acceptance of the new college.

In March of 1747 Jonathan Dickinson traveled to Philadelphia to speak with Gilbert Tennent and secure his support for the venture. Gilbert Tennent accepted, and with him William Tennent, Jr., Samuel Blair, Richard Treat, and

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[187] ibid.

[188] Hofstadter, 83.

Samuel Finley were established as trustees of the College of New Jersey.[189]

Gilbert Tennent had his own reasons for adopting the College of New Jersey. He had tried for many years to balance the emphasis on training propounded by the Old Lights with his own ideas on conversion of ministers. He found that he was supporting lay exhorters much more than was comfortable for him. His support for the College of New Jersey would give Gilbert Tennent a central position that he could defend to himself and his followers.[190]

Gilbert Tennent was not entirely pleased with the last member of the Board of Trustees to be appointed. Jonathan Belcher was appointed gove nor of New Jersey in 1747. Belcher was opposed to the state of Harvard and Yale and it was expected that he would give official support to the College. Belcher was elected to the Board, but he soon caused problems when he suggested modifications to the Charter. Tennent still supported the College and Belcher's changes were adopted with some modification.

One of the changes in the Charter was the addition of eleven new Board members and a drop of one from the original thirteen. The eleven elected were mostly laymen, some from Pennsylvania.[191] The ministers still outnumbered the laymen

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[189] Coalter, 144.

[190] ibid.

[191] ibid.

and Tennent was satisfied that the character of the institution would be religious and New Light.

There were two main problems that the College of New Jersey faced over its first twenty years. The first was the position of President. There were five different men in the office during these first two decades. Some of them served very short terms. The Trustees of the College were constantly searching for the right leader for the institution.

The second problem was financial support. This was the area in which Gilbert Tennent gave the most assistance. George Whitefield had raised some money in Scotland for the College and had written to Belcher to send representatives to the Mother country.

Belcher and the Trustees sent Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies to England to get financial support.[192] Samuel Davies had been an active evangelical preacher since 1747. Davies later became president of the College.

The fund-raising trip in 1753 successfully raised over three thousand pounds. During this time the trustees published several pamphlets explaining the mission of the college and the reasons for support of the institutions.

In March of 1757, Gilbert Tennent participated in a student revival at the College of New Jersey. This revival shows the character of the school. Preaching did not bring

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[192] ibid.

on this revival. A book on the necessity of internal religion was circulated among the students. At the same time, a young student was converted and this conversion started a general revival at the college.[193]

The students extended an invitation to Gilbert Tennent and William Tennent, Jr. to attend the revival meetings. Gilbert Tennent saw the revival as a sign of the importance of the College of New Jersey to the Awakening and America. In a letter to an English supporter of the College Tennent compared the College of New Jersey with the University at Halle under Francke:

> a great resemblance, between this Seat of Learning, and that of Hall[e] in Saxony, begun by pious Dr. Frank[e], in respect of their rise, progress, and influence, especially in respect to vital Piety.[194]

This statement shows that the work of Francke at Halle was a model for the College of New Jersey. The curriculum was standard for the day. The College followed the basic model of the English collegiate system. The Pietists gave a model of teaching for belief that was followed in America.

The College of New Jersey was a magnet for leaders of the Great Awakening. Among the leaders who became President of the College were Samuel Davies and Jonathan Edwards. Edwards was elected President of the College late in 1757, but he died within months of his arrival in Princeton.

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[193] ibid., 151.

[194] ibid.

Edwards did not serve long enough to make an impact. His election shows that the College was a great attraction to evangelical revivalists.

OTHER IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS OF THE GREAT AWAKENING

There are three other important institutions that were founded under the influence of the Great Awakening. The College of Rhode Island, which later became Brown, was founded in 1765. The King's College, which was renamed Columbia after the Revolution, was founded in 1766. And Dartmouth College was founded in 1769.

Dartmouth started as a school for Awakened Indians and missionaries run by Elezer Wheelock, a Congregational itinerant. Wheelock gave the New Lights of the Congregationalists a place to get an education. Yale and Harvard were not adequate and the College of New Jersey was Presbyterian. Dartmouth gave its students a sense of freedom. One grandparent of a student wrote Wheelock on the importance of Dartmouth to the New Light Congregationalists:

> The Education at Yale is not liberal: they are too Contracted in their Principles and do not encourage a free Enquiry. Error never flourishes in any soil so Luxuriantly as where a free Enquiring after Truth is not permitted, I might say encouraged. I thought myself before I again renewed our Old Acquaintance that you had fallen into that Error yourself but was agreeably disappointed.[195]

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[195] John S. Brubacher, Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976), 311.

The College of Rhode Island and King's College were also denominational schools. They were both creatures of a new spirit of sectarian colleges. Both colleges espoused interdenominational tolerance, but both were founded on the idea that the denomination should teach its own children its own beliefs.

CONCLUSION

The movement of German Pietism traveled across the Atlantic and had a lasting impression on America and American higher education. The great German Pietist educator, August Hermann Francke, was known and admired for his work with the Orphan House and University of Halle. Several leaders in the Great Awakening in America were trained by Pietists and at least one was sent to America by Francke's son. These men were influential in the establishment of several American colleges.

The English and American leaders of the Great Awakening, including William and Gilbert Tennent, George Whitefield, Elezer Wheelock, and Jonathan Edwards, were admirers of August Hermann Francke. These men went on to help found such American institutions as Princeton, Columbia, and Dartmouth. Even before the Awakening, American educators like Cotton Mather were in correspondence with Francke.

Several ideas influenced American higher education. These ideas were important enough to have contributed to a change in character in the colleges and universities of the American colonies.

The first was the general piety of the movement. This contributed to the extent and importance of missions. It also affected the way in which students were viewed by the

institutions. And it showed that persistence and annual fund raising could work for an institution if you believed.

The missions were important because they were the foundation of many of the colleges and universities founded by religious groups in America. Each denomination would feel a need to establish a place of learning for its members. These schools would provide ministers and useful parishioners to frontier congregations. Many of the colleges that appeared in the new states of the West in the mid-1800s were a result of this denominational missionary push.

The personal piety of the student became a concern in most of these denominational institutions. Princeton became a model for many of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist schools that would be founded later. These schools would build rules of personal piety into their charters and general laws. Many of the subsequent revivals in America started in the colleges.

Personal piety would also drive American colleges to give more control to their presidents. At Yale the change to a strong president came because of the negative reaction against the Awakening. In Princeton, as it had been at the University of Halle, the strong president came from the need to monitor the religious development of the students.

Using fund raising techniques to start and sustain a new institution became commonplace throughout America. This allowed freedom in developing the school and involved the

denomination that it sponsored as well as the local community. These schools would be built on faith and trust that there were like-minded individuals who would support the endeavor.

Another important idea was the idea of experiential religion. This led to the idea of toleration of individual views, the breakdown of some denominational barriers, and the critical use of the Bible. Experiential religion also brought the teaching of classes in the vernacular and the eventual acceptance of the Enlightenment in several places.

Experiential religion meant that each individual was led by the Holy Spirit. This led to the idea that each individual must be allowed to speak from the heart. Ideas would not be suppressed as easily as in a doctrinally based church. This toleration had its limits, but it was important in the first charters of Princeton and Columbia.

In Princeton and Columbia we see experiential religion breaking down some of the barriers between denominations. Leaders of the Awakening in every denomination frequently corresponded, preached, and even lived together with little tension. Lutherans in Germany and America made frequent contacts with English Puritans, Methodists, Anglicans, and Baptists. The colleges founded by Awakeners would tolerate other denominations. Colleges founded by religious groups based on revivalism would start the practice of education for women and blacks in America.

Experiential religion also brought a beginning of scholarly examination of the Scriptures with a critical eye. Spener and Francke both advocated knowing the Bible in its original languages. The Awakeners used the Bible as a practical tool in theology and education. Every Christian was to know something of the Bible. This meant that general literacy was important and ministers must be prepared to help their congregations in its study.

The experiential religion of Pietism and its missionary zeal led to the use of the vernacular to reach the general population. This led to the teaching of students in their own language so that they could communicate with the people. Most of these people did not understand Latin and would not accept a stiff or overly technical argument. Also texts were translated into the vernacular and distributed among the people. The colleges no longer insisted that Latin alone be the language of the academician. Latin was important, but Pietism helped push the move toward using one's native tongue in education.

The Pietist movement also paved the way for the Enlightenment. Both the Enlightenment and Pietism ran parallel courses for many years. Frequently they collided. But, in many cases they complimented each other. In Germany, the Pietist universities helped open the door for the German Äufklarung. In America men such as Jonathan Edwards showed that revivalism and the works of John Locke could be compatible.

Among the extremists of the Awakening there was a strong strain of anti-intellectualism. However, the moderate Awakeners who founded the colleges saw education as a central part of experiential religion. This attitude would allow the colleges, in the years to come, to teach the Scriptures as well as Locke and Rousseau.

Pietism and American higher education are bound by threads of knowledge and correspondence that are sometimes very loose and very obscure. But, there is a clear connection between the two. Pietism had a direct and sometimes indirect impact on the development of institutions of higher education in America from 1701 to the great explosion of college building in the 1850s. The arguments of the purpose of religious higher education, control of the institutions, and the meaning of tolerance are still with us today.

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